

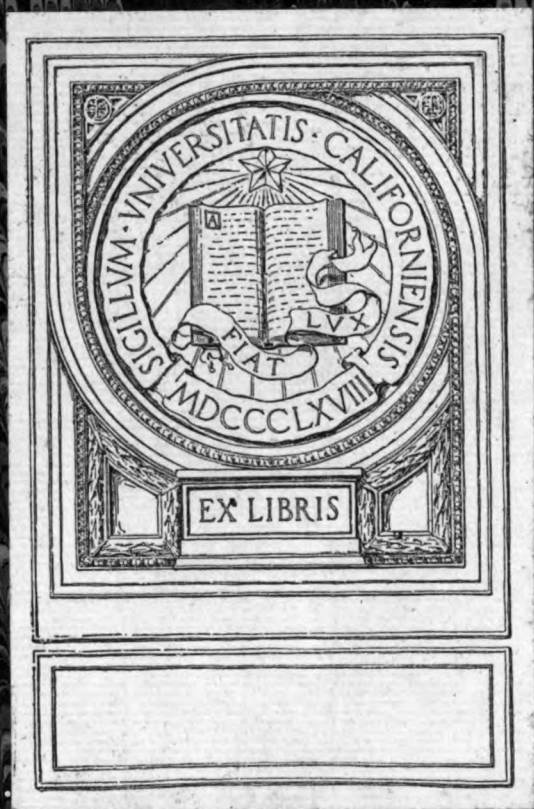


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**THE**  
**NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,**  
**AND**  
**JOURNAL OF**  
**THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**





THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE  
AND  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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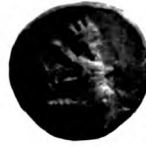
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COINS FROM INDIA

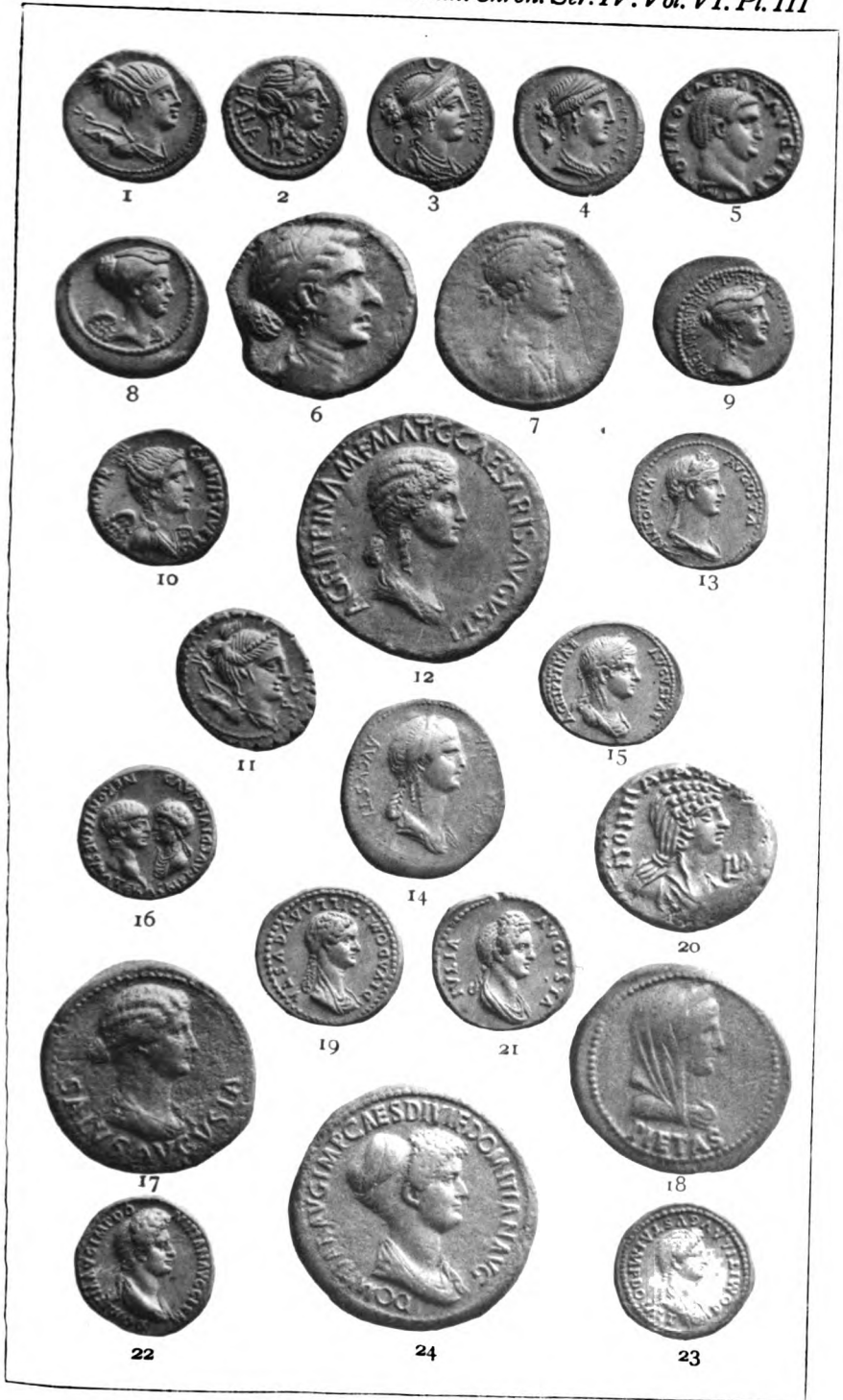




COINS FROM INDIA







HAIR-DRESSING AS ILLUSTRATED ON ROMAN COINS

PLATE I





HAIR-DRESSING AS ILLUSTRATED ON ROMAN COINS

PLATE II





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HAIR-DRESSING AS ILLUSTRATED ON ROMAN COINS  
PLATE III







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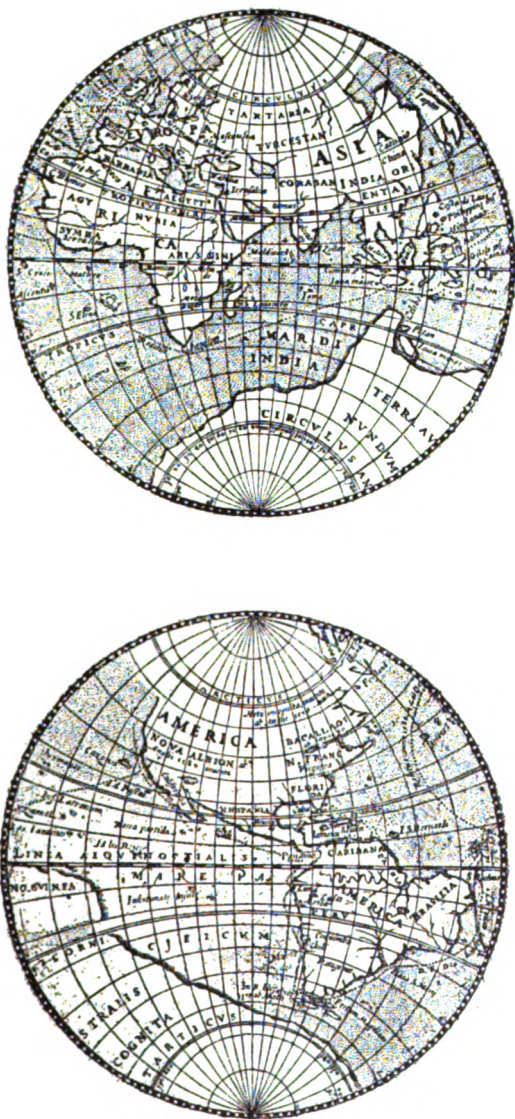


81

HAIR-DRESSING AS ILLUSTRATED ON ROMAN COINS  
PLATE IV







THE DRAKE SILVER MAP MEDAL





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3



4

ROMAN MEDALLIONS  
HUNTERIAN COLLECTION





1



2



3



4

ROMAN MEDALLIONS  
HUNTERIAN COLLECTION





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ROMAN MEDALLIONS  
HUNTERIAN COLLECTION







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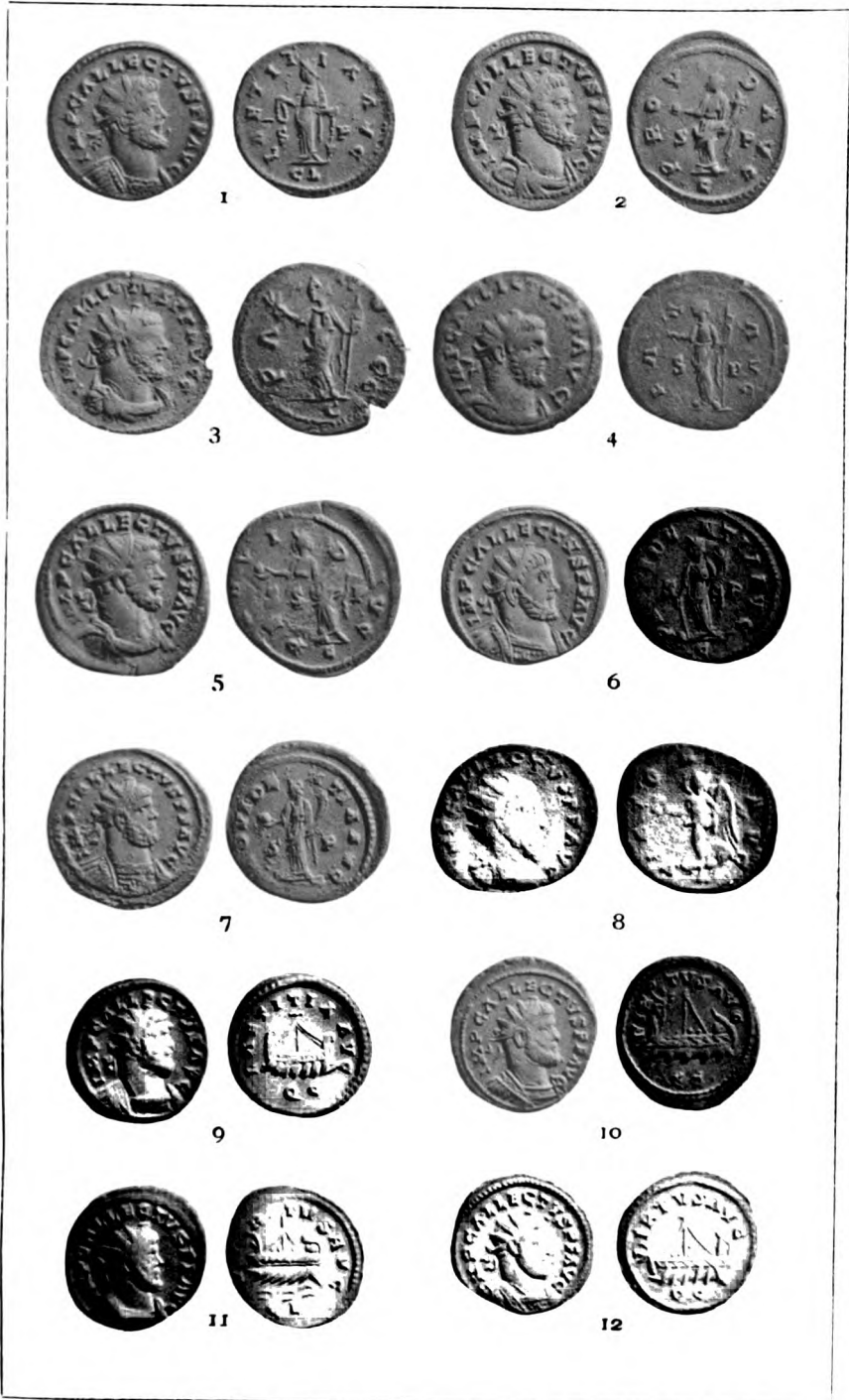
ROMAN MEDALLIONS  
HUNTERIAN COLLECTION





COINS OF ALLECTUS

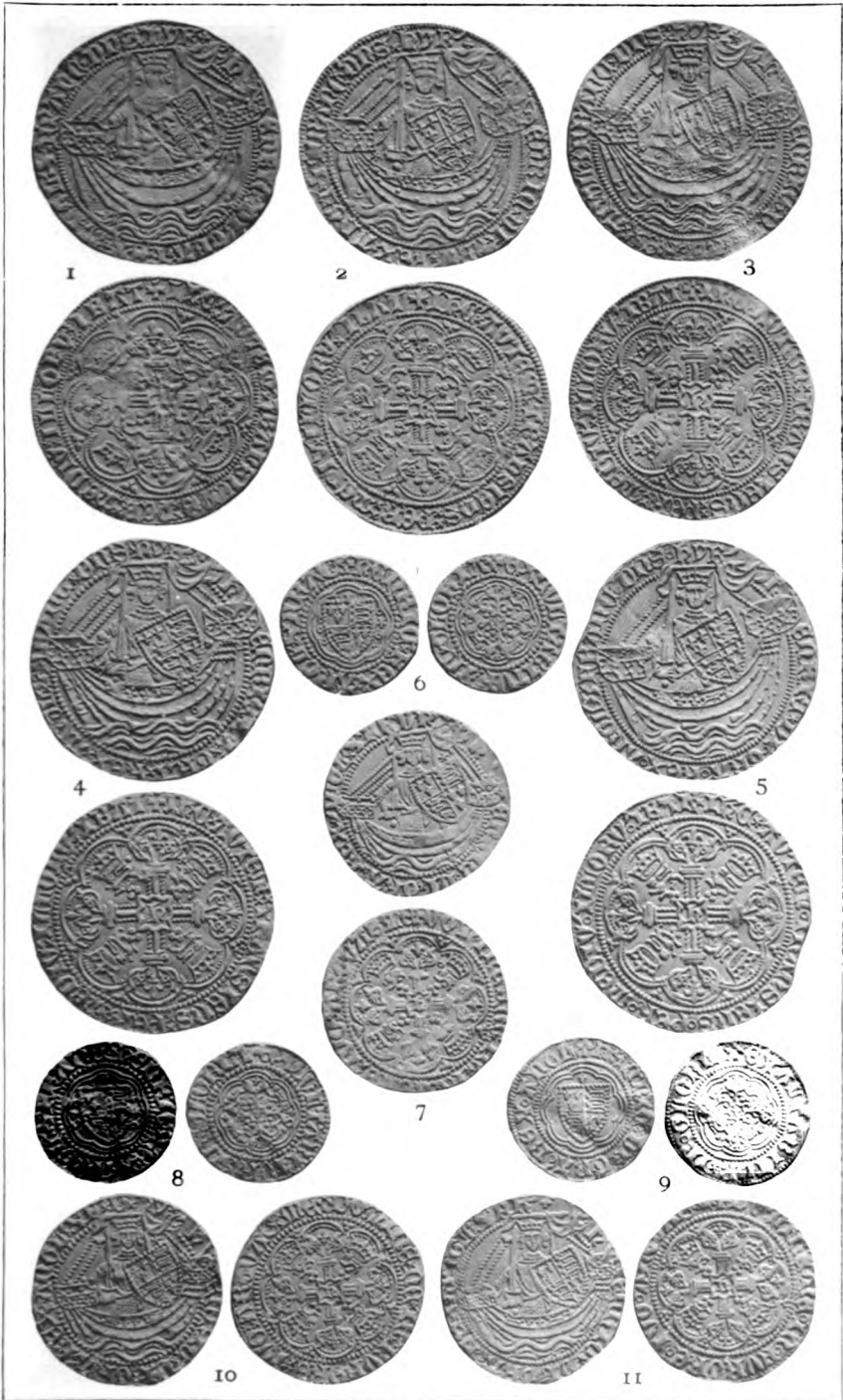




COINS OF ALLECTUS

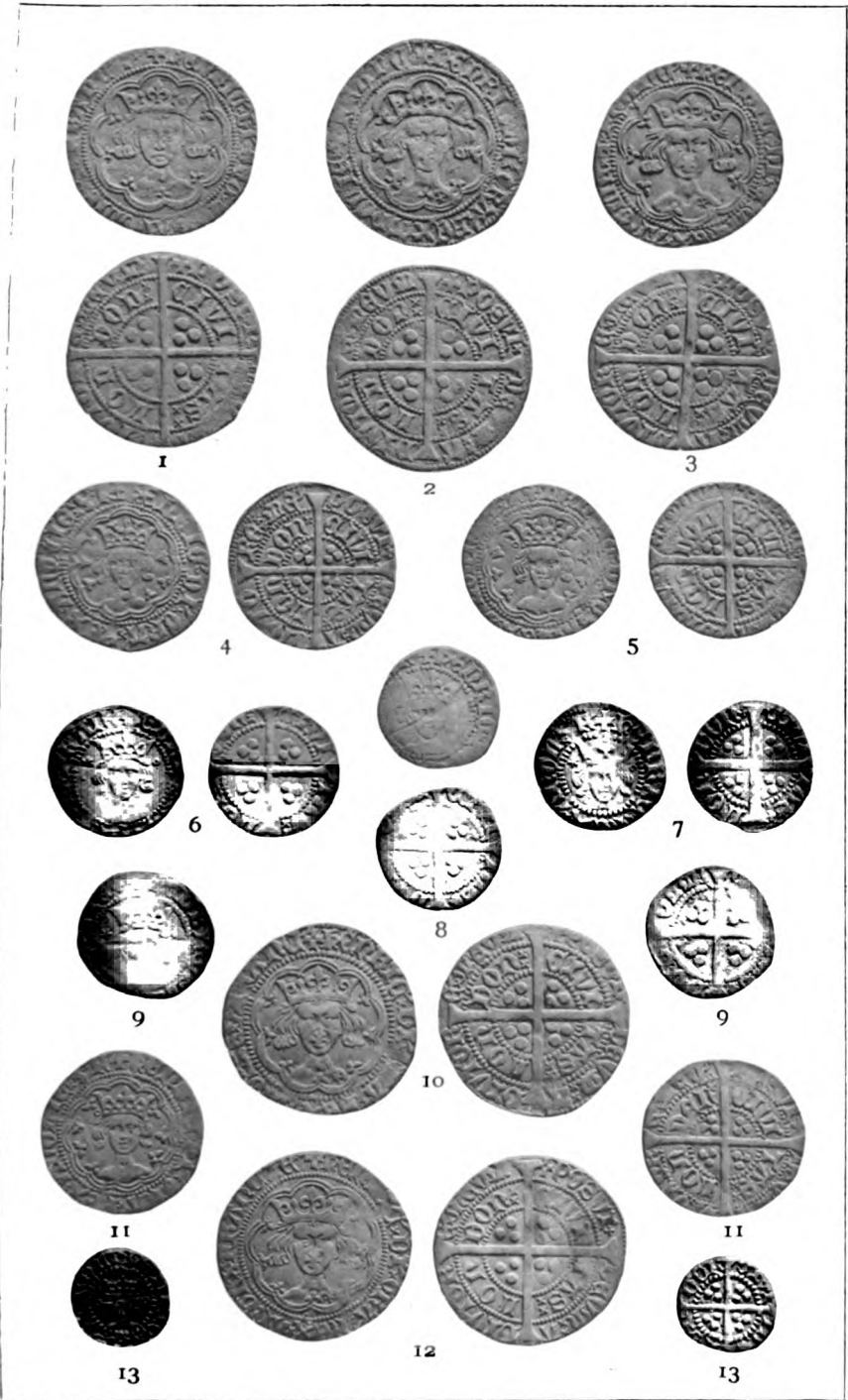






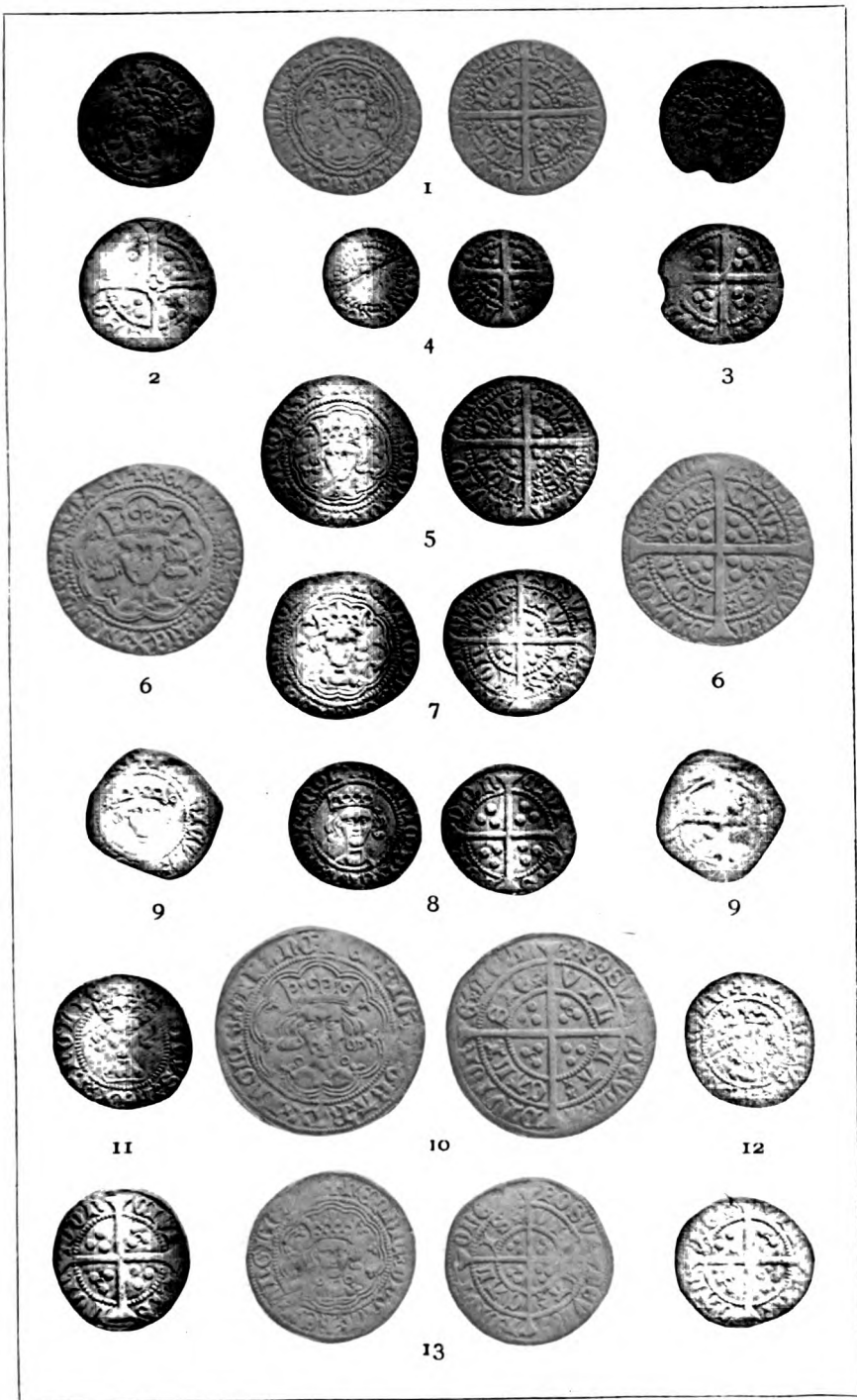
GOLD COINS OF HENRY V





SILVER COINS OF HENRY V





SILVER COINS OF HENRY V





1



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7

ROMAN CONTORNIATES







I



I



2



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3



4



5

ROMAN CONTORNIATES





ANGLO-GALLIC COINS  
EDWARD III.





ANGLO-GALLIC COINS  
EDWARD III.





ANGLO-GALLIC COINS  
EDWARD III.







ANGLO-GALLIC COINS  
EDWARD III.

AUTOTYPE





AUTOTYPE

ANGLO-GALLIC COINS  
EDWARD III.—HENRY OF LANCASTER.





THE RE-COINAGE OF 1696—1697.







THE RE-COINAGE OF 1696—1697.





I.

THE EARLIEST GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND  
GRAECO-INDIAN COINS.

(See Plates I., II.)

DR. IMHOOF-BLUMER (*Mon. Gr.*, 1883, pp. 118 ff., Nos. 19-46) brought together a number of silver and bronze coins inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, which had been previously attributed by Müller to Alexander II of Epirus.

All these he proposed to re-ascribe, as a single and indivisible group, to Alexander the Great, and to regard them as his first local issues in Macedon, and as anterior in date to his world-wide imperial coinage, uniform in types but differing in style and fabric, issued during his invasion of the vast and varied regions previously directly or indirectly subject to the kings of Persia.

At the head of this little series of coins Dr. Imhoof described the following tetradrachm, at that time unique:—

Α 28<sup>m</sup>.—Gr. 14.68 (= Α 1.1. Wt. 227 grs.). Tête de Zeus à dr., ceinte d'une couronne de laurier à trois rangs de feuilles : cercle perlé.

Β.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡΟΥ. Aigle debout sur un foudre, à dr., et retournant la tête. Derrière lui, *massue* ; devant, *proue* de navire à dr. : cercle.

Pl. D 8. Cabinet de France.

This remarkable coin is no longer unique (except in  
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none among those in the British Museum which exceed 224 grs. So long, therefore, as the symbol was taken for a prow the attribution to Macedon seemed highly probable.

Dr. Imhoof is, however, now persuaded that I am right in recognizing the symbol as a satrapal helmet, and has suggested that I should publish my correction, involving, as it may, a re-attribution of the coins in question.

Where, then, if we eliminate Macedon, can these tetradrachms have been struck? Our choice at first sight is limited by the weight of 227 grs., to the western coasts of Asia Minor, Phoenicia, or Egypt; but in all these parts Alexander's new coinage on the Attic standard had been introduced during his lifetime, and I am quite unable to suggest any probable attribution for them in any of these lands.

There remains, however, one part of the ancient world where coins of this weight may have been issued by a Macedonian satrap striking in the name of Alexander. This is one of the far eastern satrapies of Alexander's Empire, and it is noteworthy that the only specimen of which the *provenance* is recorded came to the Museum from Rawul-Pindi in the Panjâb.

Here, I think, is a valuable indication of origin which should not be neglected. Far too little attention has hitherto been bestowed upon the *provenance* of ancient coins. The intervention of the coin-dealer between the finder and the purchaser is often quite sufficient to obscure or obliterate entirely all evidence of *provenance*. Coin-collectors have also been too often oblivious of the scientific importance of placing on record the sources of their acquisitions.

B 2

In all large collections there are coins of doubtful attribution with regard to the origin of which the most experienced numismatists suggest from time to time more or less ingenious hypotheses, which are frequently unconvincing owing to the absence of evidence of *provenance*. Most fortunately in the present case the Indian *provenance* of one of the three known specimens is certain; and I shall endeavour to show that there are other reasons which tend to confirm my proposed re-attribution of these coins to the north-western corner of India after Alexander's invasion of that region in 326 B.C.

Before entering into further details it will be as well to describe some other apparently Graeco-Indian coins which the British Museum has acquired from the same part of the world. The fact that the following coins have passed into the National Collection from the cabinets of Indian officers, who acquired them during their residence in India, or from the Indian coin-dealer, Chunda Mall, of Rawul-Pindi, is, of course, no absolute proof that they were struck in India itself. Some, perhaps most of them, may have been coined outside India proper and north of the mountains (*Hindu-Kush*), either in Bactria or even further north in Sogdiana, where a colony of Ionian Greeks, descended from the Branchidae, had been settled for a century and a half before Alexander's conquest of the country. It may be that these Ionian Greeks were never entirely cut off from all communications with the West, and that, although subject to the Great King, they had not forgotten their own language,<sup>2</sup> and it is certain that they were never amalgamated with the native population.

---

<sup>2</sup> Curtius (vii. 5. 29) says they were bilingual when Alexander extirpated them.

When, during the fourth century, gold and silver in the shape of coined money had become the ordinary medium of exchange, Royal Persian mints may have been opened in the far eastern satrapies, and Indo-Greeks may have found congenial employment as skilful artificers, moneyers, or mint-masters. However this may have been, it is remarkable that of the twelve double-darics in the British Museum, nine (all different) were acquired certainly at Rawul-Pindi, and two of the remaining three probably also in the same district, and, as they all bear Greek letters, monograms, or symbols<sup>3</sup> in the field, it would seem that they are of Indo-Greek workmanship.

Next comes a series of silver coins weighing on the average about 229 grs. each, which in type, style, and fabric (*e.g.* hammered edges) resemble so closely the double-darics, that it is difficult to imagine that they can have had a different origin.<sup>4</sup> This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that of the six specimens in the British Museum, two certainly (including one with the letters ΔΗ) and two probably were acquired in India,

---

<sup>3</sup> One of these coins (Pl. I. 1) has in the field a symbol which looks like a satrapal tiara (B. V. Head, *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, Pl. i. 24). The inscription :ΣΤΑ ΜΝΑ on another of these double-darics of Indian *provenance* has given rise to various suggestions as to its meaning. My original conjecture that it might stand for 2 staters = 1 mina may be dismissed as highly improbable. Imhoof (*Die Münzstätte Babylon*, N. Z., Bd. xxvii. 1895) thinks that ΣΤΑ may stand for Stamenes, Satrap of Babylonia: but may not Stasanor, Satrap of Bactria, have superior claims to coins of Indian *provenance*? The letters ΜΝΑ still remain unexplained. The coin is figured on Pl. I. 4. Sir H. Howorth (*Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 21) has expressed doubts as to the authenticity of this and other double-darics. For my own part I can see no reason for questioning the genuineness of the specimen described above.

<sup>4</sup> Misled by the weights of these coins, which seemed to me to follow the Rhodian standard, I formerly assigned them to a Persian satrapy in Western Asia Minor (B. M. C., *Ionia*, p. 323).

the *provenance* of the other two (including the one inscribed ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ) being unascertainable. Hitherto the Ionic form of the name ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ (Pl. I. 5) has been cited as a reason for attributing these coins to Ionia,<sup>5</sup> but if we bear in mind that there were descendants of the Ionian Branchidae settled since the time of Xerxes on the confines of Bactria, this difficulty is, to some extent, removed; but, as to who Pythagores may have been, I cannot hazard a guess. Other Ionians beside the descendants of the Branchidae might have penetrated into the far east, and we know from Curtius (vii. 5. 29) that there was a Milesian contingent with Alexander's army. One of these Ionian officers may have become a local governor or satrap.

The next class of coins which I have to consider are the Graeco-Indian imitations of Athenian coins in the British Museum (B. M. C., *Attica*, p. 25, Nos. 267-271). These five coins were *all* procured at Rawul-Pindi. They are of the Attic standard. Nos. 267 [Pl. I. 7] and 268 have a bunch of grapes, below the olive-spray and crescent, as an adjunct symbol behind the owl on the reverse, and, on the obverse  $\text{PM}$ , the identical monogram which occurs on some of the double-darics (Pl. I. 2 and 3). Hence I infer that they were issued from the same satrapal mint as the gold double-darics with the

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<sup>5</sup> Babelon, *Perses Achém.*, lxxvii., and *Rev. Num.*, 1892, p. 414, where he gives the late M. J. P. Six's reasons for supposing the inscribed specimens to have been struck at the *Ephesian* mint by Memnon the Rhodian. 336-334 B.C. If it could be proved that these coins were usually found in Asia Minor this ingenious attribution would be more acceptable; but, as the forms of the letters, the peculiar fabric (*e.g.* the hammered edges), and the *provenance* (so far as ascertainable) are all foreign to Ionia, I am now inclined to think that the tetradrachms of this series cannot belong to that district.

same monogram. It seems certain, however, that there was more than one place of mintage where imitations both of Persian and of Greek coins were made in these regions, and the localization of one of these mints on the northern frontier of the Bactrian satrapy of the Persian Empire, appears to be fixed by the substitution of ΑΙΓ for ΑΘΕ on one of these Graeco-Bactrian imitations of Athenian tetradrachms (B. M. C., *Attica*, No. 271). This specimen is more barbarous in style than the others, but the letters ΑΙΓ before the owl are well formed and not an ignorant or clumsy copy of ΑΘΕ (Pl. I. 6). There is good reason, therefore, to attribute this issue to a mint in the land of the Aigloi on the northern confines of the Bactrian νομός of the Persian Empire (cf. Herod., iii. 92, Βακτριανοὶ μέχρη Αἰγλῶν), which may not improbably be identified with the place that was subsequently known as Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐσχάτη. My proposed attribution to Graeco-Bactrian, or, in some cases, to Graeco-Indian, mints of the three series of coins above mentioned, viz. (i.) various gold double-darics (Pl. I. 1-4), (ii.) silver coins with the same obverse type weighing 229 grs. (Pl. I. 5), and (iii.) some copies, of Attic weight, of Athenian coins (Pl. I. 6, 7), rests thus mainly upon the fact that nearly all the specimens in the British Museum have come from India.

None of the above-mentioned coins exhibit any typical indications of a Macedonian origin, and I can see no valid reason for supposing that they must have been all issued after Alexander's death. Coins, both Persian and Athenian, may have gradually gained currency in these regions years before Alexander's invasion, and the demand for such coins may have increased more rapidly than they could be supplied. Such a deficiency might

naturally give occasion to and stimulate local fabrications of coins with the same types, which, however, would require the guarantee of the issuer in the then prevalent form of an adjunct symbol or monogram. The combination of Greek letters or monograms and Greek adjunct symbols with semi-Greek Asiatic copies or modifications of purely Greek or purely Persian coin-types, seems to me to be explicable only on the hypothesis that the dies were engraved by semi-orientalized moneyers of Greek descent.

As I have already said, there are no signs on any of the semi-Greek copies of Persian or Athenian coins as yet alluded to which can be described as due to Macedonian influence.

It is, nevertheless, impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line at the date of Alexander's invasion. The introduction of distinctly Macedonian modifications of the previously prevalent coin-types can only have been owing to a gradual process of evolution. It is, therefore, quite possible that some of the double-darics and copies of Athenian coins may be post-Alexandrine, but it is extremely unlikely, if coins had not been introduced into these regions until after the Macedonian conquest, that Persian and Athenian types would have been chosen rather than those of Alexander's own money. Even during Alexander's lifetime modifications of the Athenian types of the existing coins seem to have been introduced, though most of the following specimens appear to belong to the transitional period between his death in 323 B.C. and the adoption of the royal title by Seleucus in 306.

Before, however, I describe any of these coins I may here remark that, after a careful study of the fabric of the famous unique dekadrachm, showing on one side a



Macedonian horseman driving before him a retreating elephant with its two riders, and on the other side a standing figure of Alexander holding a thunderbolt and wearing the *Persian* helmet and with Α (= 'Ἀλεξάνδρου Βασιλέως?) in the field (Pl. I. 8), I have come to the conclusion that it belongs to Alexander's own time, and that it records the historical event of his invasion of the Panjâb in 326 B.C., and that it was probably intended for a medal for presentation to Macedonian officers rather than for use as current money. I am convinced that Prof. P. Gardner<sup>6</sup> was mistaken in assigning this large coin or medal to so late a period as the reign of Eucratides (second century B.C.).<sup>7</sup>

Returning now to the coins (properly so-called) which I propose to class to the transitional period between Alexander and Seleucus, it is interesting to note that all the specimens in the British Museum belong, not to the Attic standard which prevailed in Bactria before and after Alexander's reign, but to the *ancient Indian standard* of which the drachm weighed 58·56 grs.<sup>8</sup>

It is presumable, therefore, that all the following coins were issued within the boundaries of India, where alone that standard was in use. I give here only brief references to the specimens which have already been fully described by me in B. M. C., *Attica*, Nos. 262-276a, and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Size, style, fabric, type, and monogram all point to the age of Alexander, as does also the fact that the artist who designed the elephant had never noticed that the hind-legs of an elephant correspond with its fore-legs. He has represented them as jointed like those of the animals with which he was already familiar. This is a mistake which a Graeco-Indian artist of later date and already familiar with elephants would not be likely to make.

<sup>8</sup> Rapson, *Indian Coins* (in Bühler's *Grundriß*), p. 2.

## INDIAN STANDARD.

## I. Athenian Types.

*Didrachm.*

*Obv.*—Head of Athena : behind, *bunch of grapes* and  $\text{M}$  (?).

*Rev.*—AΘE. Owl : behind, *two olive-leaves and crescent*.  
(B. M. C., *Att.*, 272, Pl. vii. 7.)

Wt. 107.7 grs. [Pl. II. 1.]

From Rawul-Pindi.

*Drachm.*

*Obv.*—Head of Athena : behind, *bunch of grapes*.

*Rev.*—AΘE. Owl : behind, *two olive-leaves and crescent*  
and in field,  $\text{l.}, \alpha$ .

(B. M. C., *Att.*, 273, Pl. vii. 8.)

Wt. 53.5 grs. [Pl. II. 2.]

From Rawul-Pindi.

The symbol on this coin may be either the top of a caduceus or the ancient Indian Taurine symbol, which is of identical shape and which occurs on punch-marked coins.

II. Athenian Types modified. Owl replaced by  
Eagle on reverse.

*Drachms.*

*Obv.*—Head of Athena : behind, *bunch of grapes*.

*Rev.*—Eagle l., looking back : *no symbol*.

(B. M. C., *Att.*, 274, Pl. vii. 9.)

Wt. 54 grs. [Pl. II. 3.]

From Rawul-Pindi.

The eagle, usually with reverted head, is a well-known Macedonian coin-type. (Cf. B. M. C., *Mac.*, Amyntas, III. p. 171 sq., and Perdiccas, II. p. 176.)

*Obv.*—Head of Athena : behind, uncertain *monogram*.

*Rev.*—Eagle l., looking back : behind, *vine branch with two bunches of grapes*.

(B. M. C., *Att.*, 275, Pl. vii. 10.)

Wt. 51 grs. [Pl. II. 4.]

From Rawul-Pindi.

*Diobol.*

*Obv.*—Head of Athena : *no symbol*.

*Rev.*—Eagle l., looking back : behind, *vine-branch with two bunches of grapes*. (B. M. C., *Att.*, 276a.)

Wt. 18 grs. [Pl. II. 5.]

From Rawul-Pindi.

*Drachm.*

*Obv.*—Head of Athena : *no symbol* (?).

*Rev.*—Eagle l., looking back : behind, *caduceus and vine-branch with two bunches of grapes*.

(B. M. C., *Att.*, 276.)

Wt. 51·6 grs. [Pl. II. 6.]

From Rawul-Pindi.

On all the above-described coins the hair of Athena is dotted as on the coins of Athens, and her helmet, with its ornamental scroll and conventionalized olive-leaves in front, resembles that on the Athenian coins. In style the two following drachms are further removed from their original prototypes:—

*Obv.*—Head of Athena with *flowing* hair.

*Rev.*—Eagle l., looking back : in front, *doubtful symbol* ; behind, *monogram*  $\Xi$  (= EY?).

Wt. 54·9 grs. [Pl. II. 7.]

From C. J. Rodgers, Panjāb (Lahore or Amritsar).

Another from the same source but from different dies. Wt. 54·2 grs.

It occurs to me that the monogram  $\Xi$  on these specimens may stand for Eudamus, one of Alexander's satraps, who, after killing Porus, made himself supreme in the Panjâb, where he remained until 317 B.C., when he left India to join Eumenes (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 294).

### III. Macedonian Types.

#### *Diobol.*

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus, r., laur.

*Rev.*—Eagle l., looking back: behind, *vine-branch with two bunches of grapes.*

Wt. 18.1 grs. [Pl. II. 8.]

This coin belongs to a dealer in Tashkend.

#### *Tetradrachms.*

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus, r., laur.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—AAEΞAN ΔΡΟΥ. Eagle r., on thunderbolt, looking back; in field, l., *olive-spray with two leaves and berry*, as on Athenian coins; in field, r., *Persian satrapal helmet with loose flaps.*

Wt. 222.5 grs. [Pl. II. 9.]

From the Montagu Collection. *Provenance* unrecorded.

Another less well preserved. Wt. 204 grs.

From Rawul-Pindi.

*Obv.*—Same.

*Rev.*—Similar, but *club* instead of *olive-spray*.

Wt. 227 grs. (Imhoof, *Mon. Gr.*, Pl. D 8.)

Paris. *Provenance* unrecorded.

These fine tetradrachms, first assigned by Imhoof to Macedon, and since generally accepted as the first coinage of Alexander before the introduction of his Imperial issues, must, if I am right, be removed from the extreme west to the extreme east of his empire, and

from the beginning of his reign to about the time of his death, or even to a somewhat later date, between 323 B.C. and the accession of Seleucus, for the following reasons :—

(i.) Because the Persian satrapal head-covering as an adjunct symbol limits the issue to one of the eastern satrapies of Alexander's Empire.

(ii.) Because the eagle with reverted head is the type which was substituted for the owl on the Graeco-Indian modifications of coins of Athenian types as struck in the Panjâb after the Macedonian conquest.

(iii.) Because the other symbol, the olive-spray, had been a constant and familiar adjunct sign on all the copies of Athenian tetradrachms of Indian *provenance*, whereas it is never met with on any issues either of Philip or of Alexander struck in Europe.

(iv.) Because the obverse type, the head of Zeus, though doubtless derived from the coins of Philip of Macedon, bears a still closer resemblance to the same head on coins of Seleucus and Antiochus of Graeco-Indian *provenance*, and of the same standard of weight (cp. **Pl. II. 9** with **Pl. II. 11**).

(v.) Because this same head of Zeus is the obverse type of a diobol, the reverse type of which (eagle with reverted head, symbol vine-spray with two bunches of grapes) is identical with those of other Graeco-Indian modifications of Athenian coins (**Pl. II. 8**).

(vi.) Because the weight, 227 grs., corresponds more nearly with that of coins of the ancient Indian standard than with that of the coins of Philip of Macedon.

(vii.) Because the *provenance* of the only one of the three known specimens which can be traced is Rawul-Pindi in the Panjâb.

The above-described coins of the Indian standard, and for the most part with Athenian or Atheno-Macedonian types, seem to have been followed by the finely executed drachms of the Indian prince Sophytes, of which the Museum possesses three specimens (Pl. II. 10). On these coins the Macedonian eagle (see p. 10, *supra*) is replaced by a cock. It is noticeable that the coins of Sophytes have the same adjunct symbol, a caduceus behind the cock, as some of the Graeco-Indian drachms with the head of Athena above described, and that the helmet of Sophytes on the obverse bears a very remarkable resemblance to the helmet of Athena on drachms of the same Indian weight.<sup>9</sup> The date assigned by Cunningham to the reign of Sophytes is 316–306 B.C., when Seleucus assumed the royal title.

The remaining coins of the Indian standard, all of which, eight in number, have come to the Museum from the Panjâb, bear the joint names of Seleucus and Antiochus. The heads of Zeus on these tetradrachms bear a close resemblance in style to those on the tetradrachms with the satrapal head-covering as an adjunct symbol. (Cp. Pl. II. 11 with Pl. II. 9.)

*Tetradrachms.*

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus, r., laur. : border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ  
ANTIOΧΟΥ beneath.

Athena, fighting, in quadriga of elephants r., in field above, Ⓢ: border of dots.

Wt. 214·2 grs. [Pl. II. 11.]

From the Panjâb.

Another. Wt. 212·6 grs. From the Panjâb.

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<sup>9</sup> Cunningham in *Num. Chron.*, 1866, pp. 230, 231.

Another with Ε beneath the head of Zeus.

Wt. 212·5 grs. From the Panjâb.

Another with Π beneath the head of Zeus.

Wt. 214·5 grs. From the Panjâb.

*Drachm.*

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus, r., laur. : border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ  
ANTIOXΟΥ beneath.

Athena, fighting, in biga of elephants r., in  
field above, ⊗: border of dots.

Wt. 53·2 grs. [PL. II. 12.]

From the Panjâb.

*Half-drachm.*

Similar. Wt. 25·2 grs. [PL. II. 13.]

From the Panjâb (?)

*Drachms.*

Similar, but Ϙ behind head of Zeus, and inscr. on rev.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ above, and ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ beneath.

Wt. 54·6 grs. [PL. II. 14.]

From the Panjâb.

Another of rude style without Ϙ behind the head  
of Zeus.

Wt. 51 grs. From the Panjâb.

It is remarkable that on the two last coins Seleucus  
and Antiochus are *both* kings (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ), whereas, on  
the previous specimens, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is in the singular.  
Now, Seleucus appointed Antiochus *King* of the East  
about 293 B.C.<sup>10</sup> It is thus presumable that the drachms  
reading Βασιλέων Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντιόχου are the only  
specimens struck after 293 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 61.

In the preceding pages my chief object has been to point out that the rare tetradrachms, hitherto generally accepted as the earliest issues of Alexander the Great in Macedon, and as anterior in date to any issues of his reformed coinage on the Attic standard, are not Macedonian at all, and that even if they were issued before Alexander's death (a doubtful point), they must be assigned, not to Macedon, but to India.

In support of my proposed re-attribution of these tetradrachms, I have confined my attention almost entirely to specimens in the British Museum collection actually acquired from Indian sources. The smaller denominations, described by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Mon. Gr.*, 118 sq.), both in silver and bronze, in so far as they are not certainly of Indian *provenance*, I have left out of consideration.

The attribution, geographical and chronological, of the vast and varied series of coins bearing the name of Alexander, is a subject which can be adequately dealt with only by one who is prepared to devote much time and study to this class of coins, and who is also privileged to examine, handle, arrange, and re-arrange the collections preserved in all the great European Museums.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.



## II.

### THE MINT AT BABYLON: A REJOINDER.

IN his paper on "Some Coins attributed to Babylon by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer"<sup>1</sup>), Sir Henry Howorth, with no little confidence, sets himself to attack my attribution of a fairly large group of coins to the satrapy of Babylonia.<sup>2</sup> My honoured critic, obviously proceeding on a pre-conceived opinion that Alexander and his successors never struck coins at Babylon, attempts to prove on almost every page of his paper that the coins instanced by me "have clearly nothing to do with Babylon," and that my attributions "seem to be quite arbitrary." Sir Henry Howorth, confident in his own opinion, even discovers (*l.c.*, pp. 19 *seqq.*) that, unless I had myself put forward the suggestion of the mint at Babylon, it would certainly not have been thought worthy of consideration and discussion,<sup>3</sup> for, according to him, my whole argument rests only on the double-daric (here condemned by Sir Henry as a forgery), with the inscription ΣΤΑ ΜΝΑ, which I took to be the name of the satrap Stamenes. With

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<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1904, pp. 1-38, Pl. I.-III.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1895, xxvii. (not "seventeenth"), pp. 1 *seqq.*, Pl. i., ii., 1901, p. 4, 2.

<sup>3</sup> In so doing, Sir Henry Howorth overlooked the fact that the attribution did not proceed from me at all, but from Head (*Hist. Num.*, pp. 615 *seqq.*) and Babelon, to whom reference is made at the very beginning of my article. J. P. Six was in complete agreement with us.

reference to this assertion let me refer to the actual text (*N. Z.*, 1895, p. 4), where this piece is described. There, without venturing on any explanation of the peculiar inscription, I confined myself to a bare citation of the coin, with references to Head and Babelon, and the remark that it was *perhaps* one of the double-darics of Stamenes. If the coin be in reality a forgery, as Sir Henry Howorth supposes, it will simply drop out of my list without affecting the determination of the mint or the classification of the group.

Furthermore, Sir Henry Howorth would have it appear that I had not duly reflected on the contemporary character of the lion issues and the coins of Alexander, for which he thinks the acceptance of a common mint such as Babylon would be sheer nonsense. Hence he is silent as to the fact that I (*N. Z.*, *op. cit.*, p. 6) had laid stress on this same contemporary character, and had founded thereon the theory that the two kinds of coins are to be considered as *simultaneous issues of the satrapy of Babylon and of the kingdom of Makedonia*.

With what scant attention my little paper has been studied by my critic, other passages of Sir Henry's paper betray; *e.g.* his use of the word "Aegus," which recurs a dozen times, for "Alexander son of Roxane." This nickname Droysen (*Gesch. d. Hell.*, ii. 1, 13, n. 4) was the first to point out as erroneous; he was followed by myself, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 455, *Porträtköpfe auf ant. Münzen*, p. 14, n. 8; and I finally declared that the error was ineradicable (*N. Z.*, 1895, p. 2, n. 9), and rightly, as it now appears.

To follow step by step what Sir Henry Howorth has written, and to disprove his statements singly, would be an idle task. It is enough to point out the results at

which he believes he has arrived, and to add some general remarks on the subject.

The result is this—that Sir Henry Howorth has convinced himself that there is *not one* piece of evidence to be brought forward in support of the attribution of the coins in question to Babylon, while, on the other hand, all the evidence adduced by him supports the supposition that they were issued in the coast districts of Syria and Southern Asia Minor, and indeed in all kinds of places, “as pay for the Greek soldiery.” Therefore the group of the lion coins, uniform in fabric, types, and style, and struck over a period of five and twenty years, as well as the corresponding darics and double-darics, must, according to the letters and symbols on them, have been issued either at Marathos or Mallos, Issos, Paphos, Soloi, or in the province of Lykia, in the district of Milyades, at Phaselis, Gagai, even Ephesos, as well as by Evagoras, by Ptolemy, and by an unknown dynast, I . . . etc.! It is surely too much to ask us to regard with seriousness a map of this kind. Ought not Sir Henry Howorth really to have remembered that the signs, etc., in the fields of the satrapal and regal coins are, *as a rule*, to be considered, not as emblems of towns or initials of rulers, but only as those of the officers of the mint,<sup>4</sup> and that it would be useless to seek for the *name* of Babylon on such coins, as its occurrence was neither to be looked for nor expected?

What I have already said might suffice to invalidate

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. *N. Z.*, 1895, pp. 7 *seqq.* Exceptions to this rule are usually clearly expressed, and chiefly occur on the late coins of Alexandrine type, when these certainly no longer represented regal and state issues, but those of local mints. Exceptions of earlier date are, *e.g.*, three series of Kilikian satrapal staters, which in the time of Tiribazos were signed ΙΣΣΙΚΟΝ, ΜΑΡ, ΣΟ, and Τ, later with initials only.

Sir Henry's arguments against the existence of a mint at Babylon. Part of my earlier conclusions, however, may here be repeated and carried somewhat further.

It appears to be an undisputed fact that the peculiar lumpy tetradrachms of the Attic standard with figures of Zeus and a lion (later, head of Zeus, *rev.* an elephant) with their subdivisions, together with the gold coins of the same issues, which all date from the last years of Mazaïos to the time when Seleukos Nikator assumed the title of King (331-306 B.C.), form a series of consecutive issues struck in the eastern part of the empire, in that very place in which Mazaïos was the first satrap and Seleukos the last; *i.e.* in Babylon, the capital at once of the satrapy of Babylon and of the new kingdom of the Makedonians.

According to my observations, extending over forty years, these coins come sometimes by the Asiatic overland route to Constantinople, Aleppo, Beyrout, &c., at other times by land or sea to India. They are *found*, however, not in Asia Minor or Syria, but usually in Mesopotamia, and Persia. Most of the specimens I have received came from Persia, Bagdad, and Bombay,<sup>5</sup> and many showed that hard, red-brown oxide which is never met with on the silver of western provinces, but which is common on tetradrachms of the Arsacidæ and other eastern dynasties.

The thick fabric with *hammered* edges of the flans of the gold and silver coins in question was one never used in Asia Minor,<sup>6</sup> and in Syria a fabric, resembling it, though not entirely the same, only occurs at a much

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 617 *seqq.*, where the Indian *provenance* is similarly confirmed.

<sup>6</sup> The fabric of these gold coins is quite different from that of the old darics struck in Asia Minor.

later date. This peculiar fabric, therefore, points to a hitherto unrecognized mint. Moreover, no *town* issues of the Attic standard of any place on the coast from Egypt to Ionia, towards which Sir Henry Howorth, as I gather from his suggested attributions, turns his eyes, are known down to the time of Alexander, but only regal coins without local indications. Has not Sir Henry himself elsewhere tried to prove that the satraps set over Kilikia by Alexander and his viceroys themselves continued to strike *Persian* staters down to the year 318 ?<sup>7</sup>

For the exact date at which Alexander introduced the Euboic-Attic standard for his empire there is no sufficient evidence. As I endeavoured to show in *Monnaies grecques*, p. 121, he probably retained the so-called Asia Minor standard of his father after his accession, but from his need of money does not appear to have undertaken copious issues of this character. It was seemingly before 333 B.C. that drachms, hemidrachms, diobols, and obols of Attic weight with the Macedonian types of the head of Herakles and the eagle on thunderbolt (*l.c.*, p. 120) were struck. But whether the so-called "Alexander types" of the head of Herakles and the seated Zeus aëtophoros were introduced into Makedonia before the conquest of Asia, is uncertain. In Asia the transition from the various old standards to the new uniform currency was first carried out when steps could be taken for the organization of the conquered countries; at earliest, therefore, in or after the autumn of 331, and very gradually, doubtless, in many of the provinces. It

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<sup>7</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 83. In 333 Arsames was satrap of Kilikia, after him Balakros. Mazaios, therefore, cannot have struck his tetradrachms of Attic standard in Tarsos.

must have been from Babylon that the *imperial currency*, for which numerous mints to the westward were afterwards opened, was first issued. This coinage must have been issued in especially great abundance in Babylon itself, where in the days of Alexander colossal treasures had been accumulated, and where the exigences of capital and court, army and trade, were unusually pressing. The heavy silver coinage of dekadrachms moreover appears to have been issued nowhere else.<sup>8</sup>

Fifty years ago Ludwig Müller, whose valuable work on the coins of Alexander by universal consent now needs a thorough revision, was not in a position to identify indications of a mint at Babylon. The observation relative to this (*N. Z.*, 1895, p. 7) Sir Henry Howorth has inadvertently omitted to notice. Hence his obsolete conclusion, that the regal issues of Alexander and Philip III in gold and silver, as well as the satrapal coinages in those metals distinguished by the letters ΛΥ, are, in accordance with the old attribution of Müller, *Lykian* issues. As though ΛΥ, the initials of some hundred different place-names and persons, could only refer to "Lykia," and as though the symbol which sometimes accompanies these letters, the prow, could only be a Lykian emblem! Certainly, on the coins with which we are now dealing, ΛΥ can only represent the name of a person, not that of a town—that it should be the name of a province is quite impossible; and the prow must refer to the commerce by the Euphrates and Tigris and the ocean towards Arabia and India, to which enormous facilities were granted by Alexander.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Leake, *Num. Hell.*, Kings, p. 5; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 245, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Arrian, *Anab.*, vii. 19, 4; 21, 1; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hell.*, i. 2, pp. 325 *seqq.*

About contemporary with the earliest imperial issues were the *satrapal issues* that appeared in Babylon. The imperial capital, as already remarked, was, at the same time, the seat of the satraps of Babylonia, over which Mazaios was set in 331 B.C. For this satrapy, and probably also for the neighbouring districts, a provincial currency was, as it were, created for inland trade by means of the satrapal coins, on a standard approximating to the Attic,<sup>10</sup> and bearing types familiar to the Persians. Alexander's efforts to make the utmost allowance for the Oriental point of view are well known. For the silver, the types of the Kilikian satrapal issues of Mazaios, Baaltars in the guise of Zeus, and the Lion, were retained; for the gold, the figure of the Great King, whose successor Alexander felt himself and was regarded as being. That this figure is bearded is not at all surprising, as it was intended to represent not a portrait, but the customary ideal type of the Ruler.<sup>11</sup>

On the first silver issue struck at Babylon Mazaios continued not only the coin-types of the Kilikian satrapy, but also, in accordance with the usual practice, their inscriptions, which record his own name and that of the god represented, the latter being intended to promulgate the figure of Baaltars still little known in the far East, *i.e.* the figure of that particular Baal of all the countless

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<sup>10</sup> As a matter of fact, the gold piece, like the later piece with head of Alexander and Nike (*N. Z.*, 1895, 11, 5, Pl. ii. 1), is not the Attic double-stater (17·30 grm.), but the double-daric (16·80 grm.), which is against the spread of this coin to the western coast districts. The weights of the silver piece vary. Some exceed 17 grm., but their average weight seems to be 16·80 grm., and thus to correspond to the triple siglos. The weights of the smaller denominations are also in part perplexing.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, ii. pp. 470 *seqq.*

Baalim who had to be identified with the Greek Zeus of contemporary imperial issues.<sup>12</sup>

Before the end of his short tenure of office (330–328), the satrap Mazaios appears to have been induced to give up these inscriptions, and from this date until 306 the satrapal coins remain anepigraphic. The Greek single letters and monograms do not, as already said, refer to the names of satraps, kings, or generals. The adjunct symbols are not the emblems of towns; the anchor, however, which so frequently occurs on the later issues, may with some approach to certainty be accepted as the personal badge or signet of a ruler, i.e. of Seleukos.

These general observations will, I think, be sufficient to show how little value can be attached to the endless re-iterations of Sir Henry Howorth, that the assumption of a mint at Babylon rests on purely arbitrary grounds. In point of fact, nothing, absolutely nothing, favours his conclusion that the coins in question were struck in the coast-towns of Syria or Asia Minor. On the contrary, they form a sharply defined uniform group of coins of inland Asia, beginning, after Alexander's conquest of Babylon, with the signed tetradrachms of Mazaios and the famous double-darics, and concluding with the rare elephant tetradrachms of Seleukos and the double-darics with the head of Alexander.<sup>13</sup>

Only the chronological order of the pieces struck between 328 and 312, which I have tried to arrange

<sup>12</sup> The wide-spread nature of the cult of certain deities whose surnames were local is well known. I need only refer here to *Artemis Ephesia*, *Artemis Persica*, etc.

<sup>13</sup> *N. Z.*, 1895, p. 9, 1, Pl. ii. 1–3; 1901, p. 4, 2, with BA in the exergue. These double darics with the head of Alexander and Nike certainly seem to have been issued before 331, since the bronze coins with the same type<sup>8</sup> bear the name of Alexander IV.



according to their style and symbols, has no claim to be considered final. If my honoured critic will make emendations in this quarter, I will gladly follow him. But after what has been said, it may be hoped that Sir Henry Howorth will not deem it necessary to continue his promised researches, in which he intends to attack the attribution of satrapal coins to Seleukos and also doubtless, once more, the assumption of a mint at Babylon, which *à priori* he entirely rejects.

F. IMHOOF-BLUMER.

Winterthur, 1905.

### III.

#### NOTES ON COIN-COLLECTING IN MYSIA.

It has been suggested to me that a short summary of the results of four seasons' collecting in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus might prove of interest for the numismatics of that district. In the following notes I have attempted, besides describing several unpublished pieces collected on the spot, to correct or establish doubtful attributions of certain local mintages. The country dealt with is the coast district between Karabogha (Priapus) west and Aboulliond (Apollonia ad Rhyndacum) east, Balukiser (Hadrianutherae) being the furthest point south. The district is well watched by the dealers in Smyrna and Constantinople, so that coins have a tendency to gravitate especially towards Balukiser and Panderma. At the latter a certain number of coins, and especially *weights*, are forged.

I. CYZICUS.—The coins of Cyzicus itself are distributed over practically the whole area under consideration. I have met with an electrum hecte as far afield as Balukiser itself, and the copper are abundant everywhere. The small silver with types of Kore and (*rev.*) lion's head and tunny are frequently met with in Panderma, where also the corresponding stater is occasionally seen: these coins are said to be from a recent find of upwards of fifty pieces on the Chersonnese. The commonest and most

widely distributed type of silver is, however, that of the boar and tunny (*rev.* lion's head in incuse) formerly attributed to Caunus: a single piece bought in Panderma (8 mm., *rev.* two tunnies in incuse) goes far to prove Dr. Imhoof's attribution of this type also to Cyzicus (*Kl. A. M.*, p. 22. 1, Pl. i. 17).

Among the bronze the following seem to be unpublished:—

1. *Auton.*: 17 mm.

*Obv.*—Head of Athena, helmeted, r.; above front of helmet: ΚΥΙΙ.

*Rev.*—Wreath, within which caduceus; on it a bird.

This piece has the peculiar sloped edges commonly found in the earlier Cyzicene Æ.

2. *Quasi-auton.*: 17 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust of Kore to r. (the features resembling those of Faustina II).

*Rev.*—Dolphin, r.; ΚΥΖΙΚ [H?] (beneath) Ν (= Mionn., *Supp.*, 290, quoted from Vaillant).

3. *Augustus*: 17 mm.

*Obv.*—Head to r.; no legend.

*Rev.*—Capricorn, l.: ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΚΛΝ?

The legend is compiled from three specimens: the coin can hardly be other than Cyzicene, Parium (a Roman colony) being the only other local state using the capricorn type.

4. *Nero and Agrippina*: 15 mm.

*Obv.*—Head of Nero, r.; in front, ΝΕΡΩΝ; behind, poppy.

*Rev.*—Draped bust of Agrippina, r., with diadem  
Κ [Υ]  
Ξ Ι

A second specimen has the bust of Agrippina without diadem, facing left, and reads Κ—Υ. Of this another example exists in the National Collection at Athens.

5. *Hadrian* : 20 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust, r.: AVTOTPAIAN AAPIANOCKAICA.

*Rev.*—Wreath, within which  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{K} & \text{V} \\ \text{Z} & \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$ .

6. *Commodus* : 28 mm.

*Obv.*—Bearded bust draped to r.: AVKAIMAVP KOM—MOΔOC.

*Rev.*—Tyche of Cyzicus seated on rock: KY]ZI KHNΩ[N.

A later variety of Mionn., *Supp.*, 304.

7. *Julia Domna* : 26 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust, r.: IOYAIIA AVΓOVCTA.

*Rev.*—Galley, r.: KVZIKHNΩN, (field) ΔIC, exergue NEOKOP.

Variety of Mionn., 370, noticeable as recording the second neocorate.

8. *Caracalla* : 21 mm.

*Obv.*—Laureate slightly bearded head, r.: ANTΩNEI] NOCAVΓ.

*Rev.*—Winged caduceus on cippus: KVZIKHNΩNΔIC—NEOKOP.

9. *Alexander Severus* : 29 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped laureate bust, r.: AV[KAI]MAVCEB—[HPOCAAEΞANΔPOC.

*Rev.*—Poseidon standing, r.; right leg on rock, holding (r.) dolphin, (l.) trident reversed: KV[ZI]KHNΩ N NEOKOPΩN.

To the same reign probably belongs an apparently unpublished coin, 28 mm., *obv.* head of Cyzicus, r. KV]—Z[IKOC; *rev.* Athena as B. M. 262.

10. *Alexander Severus*: 37 mm. (medallion).

*Obv.*—Armoured laureate bust, r., with shield; the cuirass is decorated with a *biga* in relief: AVT[KAI]MAVPC[Ε]BIHOC (*sic*) AA(ΕΞ)AN-Δ[POCCEB].

*Rev.*—Octastyle temple (with broad central intercolumniation) on low podium: ΕΠΙCΤ]PMΕ-ΝΕΛΑΟV K[VZIKH]N[ΩN] (*exergue*) ΝΕΟΚΟΡ-ΩN.

The coin is of fairly good work, but worn, pierced, and broken. The reverse type—a very frequent one at Cyzicus—represents the great temple of Hadrian, of which we have particulars in a MS. of Cyriac of Ancona (*B. C. H.*, xiv. 515): the latter describes it definitely as hexastyle, but coins always show it octastyle (see *J. H. S.*, xxiv. 139). Aurelius Menelaus is mentioned as an Asiarch in *C. I. G.*, 3665.

11. *Maximus*: 23 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust, r.: ΓΙΟVΟVH[PMΑΞ]IMOC KAI.

*Rev.*—Octastyle temple KVZI—KH—NΩ—[NN]Ε—(*exergue*) ΟΚΟΡΩ[N].

I noticed in the Cyzicus district two coins of Alexander the Great with the torch of Cyzicus: the Ceres Lucifera (Perinthus) and winged horse (Lampsacus) mint-marks also occurred, thus confirming Müller's attributions.

II. APOLLONIA.—The coinage of Apollonia ad Rhyn-dacum is difficult to distinguish from those of its Asiatic namesakes, especially Apollonia Salbace; but, as the presumption is that any coins with the name of Apollonia found in its neighbourhood are local, my notes may afford some guide to an ultimate canon. Waddington (*Asie Mineure*, 144) laid down the rule that all coins of

the Rhyndacene town bore some suffix indicating their provenance beyond the usual 'Απολλωνιατῶν. This rule he afterwards (to judge by the arrangement of the "Inventaire") found reason to modify so as to include (1) river-god types, and (2) certain types characteristic of the district, with the simpler legend.

Thus we find the following types with 'Απολλωνιατῶν assigned to the Rhyndacene Apollonia by various authorities :—

1. *Auton.* :

*Obv.*—Demeter.

*Rev.*—Two flaming torches (Wadd., 641 ; Imh., *Kl. A. M.*, p. 13 (1)).

2. *Auton.* :

*Obv.*—Zeus.

*Rev.*—Fulmen (Wadd., 642).

3. *Quasi-auton.* :

*Obv.*—Hermes.

*Rev.*—Caduceus (Imh., *Kl. A. M.* (3) = Mionn., *Supp.*, 58 (Ap. ad Rh.)).

4. *Ant. Pius* :

*Rev.*—River-god (Wadd., 646 = Mionn. (Salbace), 178).

5. *M. Aurelius* :

*Rev.*—"Personnage avec patère et sceptre" (Wadd., 647).

6. *Faustina II* :

*Rev.*—Apollo, with bow, tree, and snake (Wadd., 649 ; B. M. 21 = Mionn., *Supp.* (Salbace), 182).

7. *Faustina II* :

*Rev.*—Standing Poseidon with hippocamp (Imh., *Kl. A. M.* (7)).

8. *Faustina II* :

*Rev.*—River-god (B. M. 22 = Mionn., *Supp.* (Salbace), 183).

9. *Commodus* :

*Rev.*—Apollo Smintheus (Imh., *G. M.*, 156 ; B. M. 24).

10. *Sept. Severus* :

*Rev.*—Demeter and torches (Wadd., 650).

11. *Macrinus* :

*Rev.*—Apollo, cippus, and snake (Wadd., 651).

Of these, No. 2 and the corresponding Artemis type (*Rev. Num.*, 1899, 77) have in reality the distinguishing ΠΥΝΔΑ. I obtained specimens of both at or near Abouliond.

The type of No. 3 finds parallels at Cyzicus ; cf. also (2) below. Nos. 4 and 8 are distinguished by the river-god (No. 8 occurred at Brusa) ; the type is also said to occur under J. Domna (Mionn., *Supp.* (Salbace), 188). No. 9 occurred at Mihallitch, as did No. 10, which is related by its type to the distinctly Rhyndacene B. M. 25.

To these must probably be added—

12. *Quasi-auton.* :

*Obv.*—Apollo.

*Rev.*—Caduceus (B. M. Salbace, 16 ; Mionn., *Supp.*, Salbace, 167 ; cf. (3) above).

13. *M. Aurelius* :

*Rev.*—Standing Tyche, with rudder and cornucopiac (Mionn., *Supp.*, 180, Salbace).

14. *J. Domna* :

*Rev.*—Telesphorus (Wadd., 2246, Salbace).

15. *Gordian. III* :

*Rev.*—Asclepius (Wadd., 7090).

All of these I acquired in the Cyzicus district, No. 13 at Brusa, Nos. 14 and 15 at Kermasti, with undoubtedly Rhyndacene coins (and the unpublished 16–18)—

16. *Macrinus* : 20 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped laureate bust to r. : ΜΟΡΕCΜ ΑΚΡΙΝΟC  
[ΑΥ(?).]

*Rev.*—River-god reclining, r. : ΑΠΟΛΛΩ (exergue)  
ΝΙΑΤΩΝ.

Bought at Brusa.

17. *Otacilia Severa* : 21 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust, r. : CΕVH [ΡΑ]CΕΒ.

*Rev.*—River-god reclining, r. : ΑΠΟΛΛ[ΩΝΙ] (exergue)  
ΑΤΩΝ.

From Aboulliond. A fine specimen exists in the Greek National Collection.

18. *Otacilia* : 20 mm.

*Obv.*—Head to r. : ΜΑΡΚΙΑΩΤΑ . . .

*Rev.*—Apollo and Daphne? ΑΠΟ ΛΛΩΝΙ (exergue)  
ΑΤΩΝ.

Bought in Brusa. (For the type, see *Z. f. N.*, vii. 218 = *Inv. Wadd.*, 2252 (Salbace) of Salonina, and Mionn., *Supp.*, 188, Salbace (J. Domna).)

We should possibly also include (in view of its likeness to B. M. Ap. ad Rh. 20 and No. 13 above)—

19. *Caracalla* :

*Rev.*—Tyche (B. M. Salbace, 24 ; M. S. (Salbace), 187?).

The following with the fuller reading are unpublished:—

*Severus Alexander* : 26 mm.

*Obv.*—Bust to r. : ΜΑΥ Ρ[ΕΒ]ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΥ.

*Rev.*—Youth carrying pig : ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΙΑΤΩΝΠΡ. (For the *reverse*, cf. the similar coin of Commodus, Imh., *G. M.*, Pl. vii. 21.)

*Gallienus* : 25 mm.

*Obv.*—Head, r. : ΟΥΛΙΚ.

*Rev.*—Apollo standing, left arm on pillar (legend retrograde from right) : ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΝΙΑΤΩΝΠ. . .



III. MILETOPOLIS.—A general consensus of opinion has hitherto, in the lack of conclusive evidence, placed the site of Miletopolis at Mihallitch. Latterly, however, Melde, a site three miles north-west of Kermasti, has put forward substantial claims to be regarded as the missing site.<sup>1</sup> Local excavation has brought to light numerous sculptures and architectural members of Roman date. Kermasti (the nearest market town) is full of Miletopolitan coins, which are rare in Mihallitch,<sup>2</sup> and epigraphical evidence is forthcoming in the funeral inscription of a Miletopolitan (*B. C. H.*, xxv. 326), whose boast of Attic descent (Ἀττικὸν αἶμα) is numismatically interesting as explaining the recurrence of Athenian types on autonomous Miletopolitan coins.

The type of Μιλητὸς κτιστής—an armoured warrior on the prow of a ship, stepping left, right hand extended, left holding shield and spear—has been hitherto assigned to Miletus;<sup>3</sup> but, as I found no less than seven examples in the neighbourhood of Melde, it should be evidently referred to Mysia: the seven include an unpublished variety of Hadrian (with definitely Miletopolitan characteristics) and legible specimens of Aurelius, Commodus, and L. Verus. The following is the description of the former:—

(28 mm.)

*Obv.*—Laureate bust without drapery, r.<sup>4</sup> (legend from top): AVKTPAIANOC AΔPIANOC.

<sup>1</sup> Accepted by Dr. Wiegand, in *Ath. Mitth.*, 1904, 303 f.

<sup>2</sup> In Mihallitch I had them only from one dealer who was interested in the Melde site.

<sup>3</sup> *Mionn.*, *Supp.*, 1264; *B. M.* 59, Pl. xxii. 12 (Hadrian); *Mionn.*, 1267; *Wadd.*, 1861 (Aurelius); *Wadd.*, 1865 (Commodus). For a similar type, cf. *Imhoof*, *Kl. A. M.*, Pl. ix. 15, p. 280, and note.

<sup>4</sup> This thin undraped bust occurs concurrently with the stouter draped bust in conjunction with the three reverses: (1) Caduceus; (2) bust of Pallas; (3) Miletus.

*Rev.*—Miletus (as above) ; legend from top : ΜΕΙΛΗ-  
ΤΟΚΤ ΙCΤΗCΕ ΠΙ (in field) Κ—Ο for ἐπι[με-  
ληθέντος] Κο[ίντου ? cf. Mionn., 357] ; cf. Imh.,  
*Kl. A. M.*, 29 (3), and note on (2).

The following also appear to be unpublished :—

*Geta* : 16 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust, r. : ΠCΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑΚ.

*Rev.*—Helmeted bust of Athena, r. : ΜΙ[ΛΗΤ]Ο  
ΠΟΛΙΤΩ.

*Sev. Alexander* : 21 mm.

*Obv.*—Head to r. : ΑΥΡCΕΟΝΗΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC.

*Rev.*—Fortune, l. : Μ[ΕΙΛΗΤ]Ο Π ΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.

*Sev. Alexander* : 30 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped laureate bust to r. : ΑΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡ CΕΒΑ-  
ΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟC] Ρ

*Rev.*—Athena helmeted, standing l., holding Nike (r.)  
and spear and shield (l.) : CΤΡΑΥΡΕΡΜ Θ(?)  
ΜΕΙΛΗΤΟΠΟΛ.

IV. HADRIANUTHERÆ.—Coins of Hadrianutherae are commonest at Balukiser, where I have met with (1) Quasi-auton., B. M. 1 (two specimens) ; (2) Hadrian, B. M. 2 ; (3) Julia Domna, B. M. 5 ; (4) Caracalla, B. M. 7, and Mionn., 149 ? ; and (4) a second example of the following unpublished type, of which my own specimen was obtained at Panderma :—

Æ. *Hadrian* : 25 mm.

*Obv.*—Head, r. (as B. M. 2) : ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΑΥΓΟΝCΤΟC.

*Rev.*—Zeus half draped, standing l., holding hasta  
and patera, eagle at feet : ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ-  
ΘΗΡΙΤΩΝ (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1895, 98. 7,  
*Geta*).

V. POEMANENUM.—Of the smaller towns, Poemanenum was represented by three autonomous pieces, found respectively at Balukiser, Panderma, and Alexa (on the lower Tarsius, perhaps the long-sought site), and an unpublished imperial piece from Kermasti—

Æ. *Faustina II*: 16 mm.

*Obv.*—Draped bust; legend from top: CEBACT  
ΦΑΥCTIN.

*Rev.*—Telesphorus: ΠΟΙΜΑ ΝΗΝΩΝ.

VI. ZELEIA, PLACIA, PRIAPUS.—Of Zeleia two coins occurred (B. M., p. 90, and Wadd., 1242), and of Placia a single specimen (B. M. 5). I met with no imperial coin of Priapus,<sup>5</sup> but the colonial type is common: this makes rather in favour of the idea that the town was amalgamated with Parium in the Colonia Gemella Pariana.<sup>6</sup>

VII. GERME.—A record of types and *provenances* of coins of Germe may be of service to those who are not content to attribute the whole series to the Lydian city.<sup>7</sup> They are most frequent at Balukiser, where I saw B. M. 5 (two specimens), B. M. 10 (*ἱερὰ Γερμῆ*), and a fourth piece with the magistrate's name, Πέρπερος. Balukiser is in constant communication with Soma, the Lydian site. One specimen occurred at Susurlu (B. M. 5), one (*obv.* *τύχη πόλεως*) at Hodja Bunar (near Gunen), and two at Gunen (B. M. 5, B. M. 12).

VIII. FOREIGN COINS.—Within the district also occurred foreign coins of Abydos (Imperial), Adramyttium (Autonomous), Aegospotami (A.), Alexandria Troas

<sup>5</sup> Vaillant is our sole authority.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.*, iii. 37; *B. C. H.*, xvii. 549 (45).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Imh., *Lyd. Stadtm.*, p. 66 ff.

(colonial, well distributed), Amisus (A.), Ancyra Phrygiae (I.), Apamea Bithyniae (I.), Attaea (I., several at Balukiser), Apollonis (A.), Byzantium (A.), Prusa (I.), Cardia (A.), Brouza (I.), Caesarea, Capp. (I.), Cius (I.), Chalcedon (A.), Coela (I.), Cotiaeum (I.), Cyme (A.), Dionysopolis (I.), Ephesus (A.), Hadriani (I.), Hadrianeia (I.), Lampascus (A., I., former common at Bigashehr), Lysimachia (A.), Madytus (A.), Marcianopolis (I.), Mitylene (A.), Nacrassa (A.), Nicaea (I., east half of the district), Nicopolis ad Istrum (I.), Odessos (I.), Parium (I.), Pergamum (A., I., well distributed), Perinthus (A., I.), Sardes (A., I.), Smyrna, Thessaly (*Κοινόν*), Thyatira (I.).

The number of Thracian towns represented, though often by a single coin, is worthy of remark.

IX. MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN.—Of mediaeval and modern coins I may mention one Frankish denier, one Rhodian *gigliato*, numerous lion dollars of the United Provinces, including forgeries, two pieces of Salzburg (one forged), thalers of Saxony and Tyrol, and smaller silver of Austria and Poland (Sigismund III).

A token currency of thin brass bracteates, counter-marked *spielmünzen*, or paper checks, passing at 5, 10, or 20 paras, supplies the lack of small change in the larger Christian villages.

F. W. HASLUCK.

#### IV.

### HAIR-DRESSING OF ROMAN LADIES AS ILLUSTRATED ON COINS.

(See Plates III.-VI.)

I AM only too profoundly aware that in attempting to deal with the subject before me I am opening no very new ground. It is a subject upon which much has been already written, chiefly by foreign archaeologists. But while acknowledging my indebtedness to such persons as the authors of various articles in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, and in Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, I venture to add this short paper to the literature of the subject, in the hope that Fellows of the Society may like a *résumé* of such literature in English for easy reference. I propose to treat the subject mainly from the numismatic point of view, not from that of sculpture, which has chiefly engaged the attention of other writers. Further, I intend to illustrate this paper by plates taken directly, by photographic processes, from the coins, and not by means of woodcuts which have, hitherto, generally been used in illustration of the subject.

So far as possible I hope to make use of the coins in my husband's cabinet. Where these fail, I am enabled, through the kindness of the officials of the Medal Room,

British Museum, to fill up gaps by coins in the National Collection.

The dates are taken from Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, ed. 2. Where possible, reference is given to Cohen's numbers also.

It would appear that, during the earlier days of Rome, her great ladies treated their hair very simply. All adventitious aids, such as pomatums, curlings, and crispings, were not considered suitable to ladies of position. In the time of Plautus, who is said to have died about 184 B.C., they were thought proper only to courtesans and foreigners (*Truculentus*, ii. 32).

Ovid (flourished *circa* 1 A.D.) says that the hair of Roman girls was simply gathered into a knot (*Met.*, viii. 319), in the Greek fashion, at the back of the neck, and thrust through with a pin, while the head was bound with fillets, also after the Greek mode. Some idea of this fashion may be gathered from the heads shewn on Roman family coins. Such heads are, usually, those of goddesses. Ovid (*Ars Am.*, iii.) mentions the "Diana" knot.

On a coin of 77 B.C. Diana's hair is simply gathered to the back of her head and left in a loose knot. *Illust. I.*

On a coin of 89 B.C., also with a head of Diana, part of the hair is shown floating down the back, while the rest is rolled from the front and twisted round the head with a small diadem. *Illust. II.*

Sometimes a larger diadem appears, and a row of beads is carried up the back of the head from the knot of hair to the diadem; but this fashion is represented for a few years only. *Illust. III.*

In another instance the fillet goes several times round the head, while the hair is simply knotted. *Illust. IV.*

This simple knot is a fashion that continued to be followed concurrently with the many extravagant modes of the Empire. Tertullian (*De Cultu Feminarum*, ch. vii.) and other Fathers recommend it as suitable to the Christian woman, and it continues in use to the present day among young girls and persons of simple taste in all European countries.

Towards the end of the Roman Republic the influence of Greece introduced other varieties of hair-dressing, but at the beginning of Imperial times simplicity was still the rule.

At marriage, some alteration was usually made by Roman women in the arrangement of their hair (see Marquardt, *Privataltertümer der Römer*, i. 44, etc.). It was the duty of the bridegroom, as one of the wedding ceremonies, to divide the bride's hair with the "caelibaris hasta," or little spear (Ov., *Fasti*, ii. 560),—perhaps with some allusion to the time when marriage was by capture, and the bride was the spoil of the spear. It was divided into six parts ("sex crines"), and each of these was fastened with a "vitta" at the crown of the head (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, iii. 1. 197, etc.).

"Vittæ" among young girls were fillets, or ribands bound once or more times round the head, as we have seen in the case of Diana. They were considered to be emblems of chastity, as the "snood" is, or was, in Scotland. In Sir W. Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*, Effie, in the days of her innocence, is described as having "waving ringlets of brown hair . . . confined by a snood of blue silk." Later in the story, when she appears in the dock, she is ordered to "put back her hair," when it falls over her face, since "her beautiful and abundant tresses of long fair hair, which, according

to the custom of the country, unmarried women were not allowed to cover with any sort of cap, and which, alas! Effie dared no longer confine with the snood, or ribband which implied purity of maiden-fame, now hung unbound and obscured her face." It will be remembered that in Millais' picture of Effie Deans she has taken off the snood, which hangs from her fingers.

The "vittae" used by the bridegroom in the Roman "Matrimonium" were differently disposed from those of the young girl. They seem to have been intertwined among the coils of hair massed at the top of the head into that high structure, the "tutulus," likened by Varro to a "meta," or conical boundary-stone. It was obviously a monumental mode. At a certain period, comparatively early but not very clearly defined, these "vittae" came to be the special mark of the matron, and were the only remains of this method of hair-dressing in general use; the "tutulus" in its entirety only surviving as the special mark of the "Flaminica," or wife of a flamen, who assisted at the sacrifices. Vestals had a similar head-dress to that of brides ("Senis crinibus nubentes ornantur quod is ornatus vetustissimus fuit: quidam quod eo Vestales virgines ornentur quarum castitatem viris suis spondent:" Festus, ed. 1826, p. 849). In the "Terme" Museum in Rome is preserved a collection of portrait statues of the chief vestals, excavated in the Roman forum (see *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dec., 1883). The house of the vestals from which these come was burned in 191 A.D., and, presumably, the statues belong to its restoration under Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Each of the statues wears a fillet, apparently of wool, which is wound over the hair many times round the head, falling in loops on either



side of the neck. The illustration given below is of one of these statues in the "Terme" Museum in Rome.

This fillet may be the "infula," or sacred "vitta," worn as a sign of religious consecration, a badge of honour and office. The monumental coiffure may represent the "tutulus," the "sex crines" mentioned above as the bridal mode (cf. Helbig, *Führer*, ii 217, etc.). Out of



STATUE OF VESTAL.

doors, married ladies generally covered the hair with a veil. When sacrificing, the vestal wore the "suffibulum," or veil, fastened on the breast by a "fibula," or brooch, as shown in my illustration.

This portrait-gallery of vestals in Rome was evidently once of much greater range than at present, as inscribed pedestals were found covering the first four centuries.

All the bases were, however, separated from their statues, and all are inscribed to the "Virgo Vestalis Maxima," so that no personal identification is possible.

A bust of a vestal virgin may be studied in the British Museum, No. 1998.

In later Republican and Imperial times, fashions and taste in women's hair-dressing were of extraordinary diversity. Ovid, who is an authority on the details of Roman women's fashions, lays down precepts as to the variety adopted being in accordance with suitability to the wearer's face. He finds that it would be easier to number the leaves on an oak, or the bees at Hybla, than to enumerate the daily variety of hair-dressing (*Ars Amatoria*, iii. 137, etc.).

It is easy to imagine that ladies, living as the Roman women did, very domestic lives without taking any prominent part in that making of history which occupied the time of their husbands, found the hours hang somewhat heavily on their hands, and indulged in a friendly rivalry among themselves, in inventing new conceits in doing their own or their friends' hair. They had probably locks in great profusion. This habit of mutual hair-dressing among women is still a feature of Roman and Neapolitan door-ways, and I can remember a proverb told me in my youth by a Dorset woman, "When women like each other, they kiss; when they love, they do each other's hair."

St. Paul (1 Tim. ii. 9) and St. Peter (1 Pet. iii. 3) seem to fear the insidious waste of time involved in "braiding the hair," and to this day our own Marriage Service warns the English bride against its seductions.

Any excavation of a Roman site yields hair-pins in large numbers. Quantities from Pompeii are in the

Naples Museum. Our own Museum shows many varieties of them. They are usually of bone, but are found also made of bronze, gold, or jet. Generally they are plain, straight pins, but often have fancy heads more or less elaborated. In the York Museum is preserved the back hair of a Roman lady, found in 1875, during some diggings for the new railway station there. It is a beautiful coil, still retaining its auburn colour, and has two fine jet pins still in it.

Excavation also often brings to light combs of various sorts made of box-wood, ivory, or tortoise-shell (cf. *Ov., Ars Am.*, iii. 147, "testudine Cyllenea"). Matrons wore diadems and circlets of gold and jewels ("Diadema est ornamentum capitis matronarum auro et gemmis contextum," *Isid.*, xix. 21). Professional hair-dressers ("cinerarii") seem to have been in great request with their curling-irons ("calamistrum"). These persons appear to have served a regular apprenticeship to their trade. During the night, or when busy about the house by day, ladies seem to have worn hair-nets ("reticulum quod capillum contineret:" *Varro, L. L.*, v. 130). (This net was sometimes made of gold thread ("reticulum auratum"). *Juvenal* (ii. 96) complains of this effeminate habit among men. As age and baldness advanced, caps ("calauticae," "mitrae," etc.) were adopted. *Martial* (viii. 33, 19) alludes to caps made of bladder. These may have been more after a Greek than a Roman fashion, and are, perhaps, the very close-fitting caps, like elegant skull-caps, depicted on Greek vase-paintings. Men seem to have let their hair grow long in token of mourning, and when at sea, if overtaken by a storm, shaved their heads and offered the locks to Neptune (*Lucian, De Mercede Conductis*). In fine weather it was a ticklish matter to

cut the hair when on a voyage, and one liable to induce shipwreck. Julius Caesar seems to have been sensitive on the subject of hair. Suetonius says of him (*Jul. Caes.*, 45. 4), "Calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferre," and tells us that he was in the habit of bringing his hair forward from the back, so as to cover the bald patch, while "of all the honours decreed to him by the Senate and the people, there was none that he received more willingly than the right of constantly wearing a laurel wreath." False hair ("crines empti : " *Ov., Ars Am.*, iii. 165) was in common use both by men and women ("Nec pudor est emisse palam"). The Emperor Otho, who had but little hair, is said to have worn a wig so well made as to defy detection ("Galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et annexo, ut nemo dignosceret : " *Suet., Otho*, xii.), though I hardly think that an examination of his coins will justify this flattery. **Illust. V.**

Then, as now, fair hair appears to have been especially admired in Rome, the blond hair of the Germans being popular (*Mart., Ep.*, v. 68 ; xii. 23, etc.).

Tertullian, in his day, accuses the women (*De Cultu Feminarum*, ch. vi.) of dyeing their hair a saffron colour, as if in regret that God had not made them natives of Gaul or Germany. But in spite of the denunciations of theologians, Christian women yielded to the wiles of the hair-dresser; for in such a woman's tomb in Rome a chestnut wig has been found in modern times (see Boldetti, *Sopra i Cimiteri*, p. 297).

Statues of the later Imperial times are occasionally found invested with moveable wigs. One such of Plantilla, wife of Caracalla, with the hair in black marble, is preserved in the Louvre (*Clarac, Manuel de*

*l'Hist. de l'Art*, p. 25). It does not seem quite clear whether this was a device of the sculptor to introduce a token of his skill and to get a marked contrast of different marbles, or whether the ladies of the period had the wigs changed from time to time; just as a modern beauty destroys her old photographs, lest the style of hair should give damaging evidence as to her age. Martial (xiv. 27) mentions the "*pilæ mattiacæ*," or soap balls for colouring the hair, made at Mattiacum, the modern Wiesbaden.

But it is, perhaps, time for me to leave these general considerations in order to attempt to trace chronologically the elaborations of Roman hair-dressing, among women, as seen on the coins.

No coins appear to exist, struck in Rome, of *Cleopatra*, the last Queen of Egypt, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes (67 B.C.), with her head only.

Of those struck out of Rome I have selected two in the British Museum, one issued at Ascalon (*Illust. VI.*), and one struck at Antioch (*Illust. VII.*).

On both these the hair is very simply done in a Greek knot with a fillet, or small diadem.

There is also a bust of *Cleopatra* exhibited in the British Museum, near the entrance to the Reading Room, where the hair is shewn waved on the head, with small curls over the ear and on the neck, and a coronet of plaits on the back of the head (B. M., No. 1873). The most recent critic of this head, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Fellow of our Society, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxv. pt. i. 1905, says of it, "This head has been called *Cleopatra*, chiefly because of the great likeness shown by the profile, especially the nose, to the coin-portraits. There is, however, no diadem, and the curious

arrangement of the hair suggests Roman fashions of the second century A.D. It may be a late Roman attempt to copy an earlier portrait of Cleopatra."

*Fulvia*, wife of Antony (44-40 B.C.), Coh. No. 2 (*Illust. VIII.*), as Victory, on a gold coin in my husband's cabinet, shows the hair neatly gathered into a knot of plaits at the back; one long plait brought from this mass is arranged in a loop along the top of the head, resting on the forehead. A coin of *Octavia* struck in Athens, soon after her marriage to Mark Antony, in the British Museum, from the Strawberry Hill Collection, shows this plait also. *Illust. IX.*

On a lovely coin of the *Antistia Family* (16 B.C.), in the Evans Collection, gold (Babelon, *Monnaies de la Répub. Romaine*, 1. 153, no. 23), bearing the head of Victory (*Illust. X.*) the hair is waved and gathered in a knot at the back. One special roll round the face is emphasized and then gathered to the knot. With this coin may be compared the head of Diana, of the Claudia family (Babelon, i. 349, No. 5), where a similar but more conventionalized dressing appears with a beaded diadem. *Illust. XI.*

*Agrippina the Elder*, wife of Germanicus (died A.D. 33), wears her hair very carefully waved over her head. Her front hair, with the exception of a flowing lock or two on the forehead, is rolled from the face. One curl falls beneath the ear. The rest of the hair is plaited in a tail down the back. This plait returns on itself, and is bound together at the nape of the neck with a riband in the form now often adopted by young girls and called a "Cadogan," or "catogan." *Illust. XII.* Spiers's French Dictionary gives "relever en catogan" as "to club the hair;" and, indeed, the bound plait does resemble a

club. Littré says its origin is unknown. A writer in *Notes and Queries* (VII. ix. 492) says "it is so called after a well-known Cadogan portrait, in which the sitter wears it, the print from which is popular in France." I have made careful inquiry in the Print Room of the British Museum, and have had some correspondence with Monsieur Henri Bouchot, of the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, but have not yet succeeded in identifying this print.

The French Republican soldiers of 1793 sometimes wore their hair "en catogan." Our Fellow, Sir Augustus Prevost, gives me the following notes: Larousse, in the *Gr. Dict. Univ.*, has, "Catogan (on dit aussi cadogan) de Lord Cadogan qui en fut l'inventeur. Noeud qui retousse les cheveux et les attache derrière la tête." "Cadogan, etym. nom propre d'une célèbre famille anglaise paraît se rattacher au comte William de Cadogan" (1675-1726). Acad. 1798, "Rouleau de cheveux retenus par un noeud." —*Dict.*, Hatzfeld and Darmsteter.

*Antonia*, daughter of Mark Antony and mother of Germanicus (38 B.C.-39 A.D.), has a similar "catogan," but of a small, thin variety. She wears a wreath tied with a riband. *Illust. XIII.*

The silver head, in the Gold Room of the British Museum, ascribed to *Antonia*, formed the boss of a "phiale" from the hoard of silver plate found a few years ago at Bosco Reale, near Pompeii, and shews the hair very similarly rolled into a twist which hangs down the back. It is a sign of good work that every detail at the back is perfectly finished, though it never could have been intended to be seen so long as the bowl, of which it formed a part, was entire. It probably represents the lady of the house to which the plate belonged. Another

"phiale" from the same hoard, now in the Louvre, shews the portrait of a man, presumably her husband.

The unique coin published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Series III. vol. xiv. Pl. I. No. 3), with the portrait of *Messalina*, wife of Claudius and mother of Octavia, Britannicus, and Antonia, was struck in Crete. She died 48 A.D. She wears the "catogan" of the period, but the curls of the front are rather more emphasized than in the case of Agrippina I. **Illust. XIV.**

*Agrippina the Younger*, sister of Caligula (16-59 A.D.), is almost identical with Antonia, except that, like Messalina, she allows two small curls to stray on her neck. **Illust. XV.**

In the coin of Agrippina II and Nero, face to face, the hair seems to be much more fully curled all over the head. **Illust. XVI.**

With this style may perhaps be compared the sculptured figure of the "seated matron" of the Naples Museum.

*Livia* (57 B.C.-29 A.D.)—or Julia, since the coins bear no name—has a very simple, dignified way of dressing her hair; the waved locks, with one rolled from the face, are gathered to a tightly-plaited knot behind. **Illust. XVII.** One lock falls on the neck behind the ear. A lovely head, with a veil and diadem, is also assumed to represent her. **Illust. XVIII.**

*Domitilla* wife of Vespasian (circa 70 A.D.) (No. 202, Montagu Coll.)—**Illust. XIX.**—and *Poppaea* (circa 62 A.D.) wife of Nero (**Illust. XX.**) wear a heavy mass of curls on the head with the "catogan."

It will have been noticed that, in the last few instances passed in review, the tendency has been for the fringe over the forehead, at first almost insignificant, to increase



in size. This tendency goes on yet further, till, towards the end of the first century of our era and the beginning of the second, hair-dressing shows signs of extreme elaboration. Hair is rarely left to fall naturally, but each lock is fixed and manipulated to a remarkable degree. The general result is far from pleasing, and the fashion must always have been too intricate for any one of low degree to assume. The duties of the maids to high-born ladies can have been no sinecure. Martial (xi. 66) hints at scoldings, and Juvenal (vi. 492-502, &c.) tells us that, if the hair was not arranged quite to the mistress's liking, the whip even was likely to come down on the maid's shoulders. In the case of one lady who had lost her hair by too assiduous attention to it, Ovid (*Amorum*, i. 14), thinks it worth while to mention that the maid did not suffer.

“Ornatrice tuto corpore semper erat.  
Ante meos saepe est oculos ornata ; nec unquam  
Brachia derepta saucia fecit acu.”

The general elaboration of a fashionable Roman lady's toilet and the number of cosmetics used are amusingly described by Lucian (*De Mercede Conductis*, 36, &c.).

Dr. Henry Laver, of Colchester, has recalled to my memory a bas-relief in stone discovered at Neumagen, and now in the Museum at Trier, where I saw it in 1903. A lady seated in a wicker arm-chair is having her hair dressed by a maid, while another holds a mirror for her mistress to look at herself in it. A third person looks on (*Arch. Jour.*, xlv. p. 218). The whole is a Roman version of the Greek toilet-scenes on “stelae,” of which great numbers are preserved in the Athens Museum.

The full front fringe of hair (the “orbis”) had to be

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most regular in its disposition (Juv., vi. 502), and very regular it certainly appears on coins and monuments. In height it often doubles the length of the face. It is impossible to believe that it was anything but artificial, resembling, as it does, the "transformations" thrust on our notice by the advertizing hair-dresser in our modern illustrated papers.

*Julia*, daughter of Titus, who died in 81 A.D., affords a good example of this style. **Illust. XXI.** Julia's hair, assuming the curled "front" to be an addition, is gathered closely to the head, and ends in the usual "catogan." In the Montagu Catalogue, No. 220, a piece described as then "unpublished, in gold," the hair ends, not in a "club," but in a projecting knob about the middle of the back of the head. The effect in either fashion is very stiff.

In a bust of the time of Nero, once in the collection of Edmund Burke, now in the British Museum (No. 1925), Claudia Olympias wears her hair in three "steps" in front with a fringe, and a curious turban of plaits at the back.

*Domitia*, the wife of Domitian (*circa* 82 A.D.), dresses her hair almost exactly like Julia Titi. **Illust. XXII.**

Sometimes (**Illust. XXIII.**) the "front" is more like a close roll round the face. In representations of her head in sculpture, as in the British Museum (No. 1892 of Roman portrait busts), the hair on the scalp is arranged in very fine plaits from the roots down to the neck, where they merge in larger plaits. On coins, this plaiting may be indicated by the fine lines which can be seen on the head in our last three illustrations. Sometimes on coins Domitia's hair is richly massed in plaits round the head. **Illust. XXIV.**

*Plotina*, the virtuous wife of Trajan, who probably contributed in no small degree to his glory, died in 129 A.D. In her hair-dressing she emphasizes the close roll of hair round the face till it assumes the proportions of what is nowadays known as a "pompadour." A close band, perhaps of metal, fits tightly round the face at the roots of the hair, apparently connected with and forming part of the high diadem which rises behind the "pompadour." Fine plaits seem to be indicated down the back of the head, becoming merged in the "catogan." Illust. **XXV.** and **XXVII.**

Sometimes in sculpture, as in the example in the Capitoline Museum, her head has rather a meagre appearance (see Bernouilli, *Römische Iconographie*, Stuttgart, 1882, ii. 2, taf. xxix. 6). With this we may compare the coin in the British Museum. Illust. **XXVI.**

About the time of Trajan (died 117 A.D.), though the fully curled "front" is at times retained, a tendency in the direction of plaiting begins to take its place. Elaboration is still the prevailing "note."

In the case of *Matidia*, niece of Trajan, the roll of the "pompadour" is evidently in metal, and becomes part of a triple diadem entirely covering the front of the head. Behind this diadem the hair is gathered up and wound round the head in a stiff plait. The effect must have been very hard and uncompromising (see Bernouilli, *Röm. Icon.*, ii. 2. 34, 35). A spike or tuft of metal rises from the front band of the diadem. Illust. **XXIX.**

The metallic circlet fitting closely round the face with the diadem is not improbably the Roman version of the Greek ἄμρυξ (*ampyx*), elaborated by the Romans, and vulgarized in the process. Among the Greeks it was a

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simple jewelled head-band, fixed straight along the brow at the roots of the hair. The Roman form may be studied in sculpture in the British Museum (bust No. 1898, a portrait of this period assigned to Sabina).

*Marciana*, Trajan's sister (died 114 A.D.), has a similar style of hair to her daughter Matidia, but the effect is softer and more pleasing, as she wears, apparently, her hair in curls between the two steps of the diadem. **Illust. XXVIII.** On a bust in the British Museum (No. 1894), which may represent her, a curious mass of plaits is shown on the scalp.

Matidia's daughter, *Sabina*, wife of Hadrian (*circa* 100 A.D.), was deified by her husband after her self-inflicted death, since, as Tillemont puts it, "he did not mind whether she were in heaven or hell so long as he had not to put up with her bad temper" (Coh., vol. ii. p. 247). Her style of hair is very like that of her mother, Matidia (**Illust. XXIX.**), but the tiara is lower, and the plaits behind more prominent. They are disposed in a style that suggests the "cap of maintenance" of heraldry. **Illust. XXX.**

Sometimes Sabina's hair is very simply dressed, in a pretty Greek style, loosely gathered to the back with a simple diadem. **Illust. XXXI.** The beautiful veiled head ("consecratio") with the shell-like folds, struck after death, may be idealized. **Illust. XXXII.**

*Faustina the Elder*, wife of Antoninus (died 141 A.D.), sets off her remarkable beauty by gathering her hair in loose waves off the face, and plaiting the end of each lock till a succession of ladder-like fine plaits goes up the back of the head to form a crown of plaits at the top. A dressing so elaborate as this raises a doubt whether it could have been dressed afresh every day, or whether

Faustina "slept in her hair," like the English ladies of the eighteenth century.

I append three examples from my husband's collection, and one from the British Museum. First, a silver-coated medallion, which has already been published in the *Num. Chron.* (Ser. III. vol. xi. p. 154, 1891): **Illust. XXXIII.** Secondly, a large brass coin ("consecratio"): **Illust. XXXIV.** And thirdly, two in gold: **Illust. XXXV.** and **XXXVI.**

The style will be seen to be identical in all of these. In sculpture the fine plaits are not always visible. The hair is sometimes massed in a thick plait at the top of the head, in a way to suggest a revival of the "tutulus" of early times. Such an example may be seen in the British Museum bust No. 1904; another is preserved in the Museum of the Capitol, Rome (see Bernouilli, *Röm. Icon.*, ii. 2. 47).

The beautiful chalcedony gem, from the "Marlborough" Collection, now in my husband's possession, similar in many respects to the one in the Museum at Constantinople, though officially ascribed to Faustina the Elder, is so little like her portrait on coins, while the hair is arranged with such ideal simplicity, that I venture to question the attribution.

After death Faustina's hair is shown covered by a veil worn with a diadem. **Illust. XXXVII.**

*Faustina the Younger*, daughter of Antoninus and Faustina I, and wife of Marcus Aurelius, died in 175 A.D. Her style of hair-dressing is, usually, girlish and simple. **Illust. XXXVIII.** In this style is the hair of the bust in the British Museum, No. 1905. Sometimes, however, she wears very fine plaits at the back, with loose braids in front. **Illust. XXXIX.**

A pretty head appears with a diadem, and similar plaits (*Illust. XL.*), or with a beaded fillet (*Illust. XLI.*).

In the first of these two last examples (*i.e. Illust. XL.*) the hair is formally waved with an upward turn from the face; in the second (*Illust. XLI.*) regular grooves on the scalp may indicate plaits, as in the case of Domitia (*Illust. XXIII.*). It is interesting to compare the charming simplicity of the head (*Illust. XLII.*) with the elaboration of *Illust. XLIII.*, where the front hair is waved and the back gathered to a prominent plaited coronet. The whole effect of this head is that of the style selected as typically "Empire" by the ladies of the Court of the first Napoleon.

*Lucilla* (died 183 A.D.), wife of Lucius Verus and daughter of Faustina II, as a rule seems to follow the simpler mode of her mother, though the waving is deeper and more formal. *Illust. XLIV.*

Sometimes, instead of being waved, the hair is arranged in vertical rolls on the head. *Illust. XLV.*

I venture to think that pads were introduced into these rolls to give them a full appearance. In each case the hair terminates in a knot of twists or plaits at the neck.

*Crispina*, wife of Commodus (died 183 A.D.), by the coins bearing her head, gives the impression of a woman with naturally heavy straight hair. Sometimes this is loosely gathered into a large knot behind (*Illust. XLVI.*), or is more elaborately dressed, somewhat in the style of *Lucilla*, with the addition of a heavy roll outlining the face. *Illust. XLVII.*

From the style of *Crispina* (*Illust. XLVI.*) there seems to be developed a series of coiffures with a large flat loose knot behind, like a great cake. In fact, French

writers on the subject always speak of it as the "tourteau," *i.e.* "cake." In the round a typical example of this may be studied in the British Museum (bust No. 1914).

On coins, the head of *Manlia Scantilla* wife of Didius Julianus, shews this style (*circa* 193 A.D.). **Illust. XLVIII.** The front hair is parted and deeply waved, obviously by extraneous means; the back is shown in the large "tourteau," which may have been interlaced with ribands or matronly "vittæ."

Her daughter, *Didia Clara* (*circa* 193 A.D.), follows her mother's style, but perhaps with rather less distinction. **Illust. XLIX.**

At the outset of the third century a simplicity involving a good deal of art becomes the rule. Deep "waving" or "ondulation" is typical of this period.

*Julia Domna*, wife of Septimius Severus (187 A.D.) and mother of Caracalla and Geta, was a young Syrian, daughter of a priest of the sun. At one time she arranges her hair in a way hardly to be distinguished from *Manlia Scantilla*, though the ribands woven into the back hair seem more visible. **Illust. L.** At another the whole of the art of her coiffeur is directed to securing a curtain-like effect of deep-hanging waved braids, falling on the neck and terminating in a small knot, microscopic in comparison with that of **Illust. L.**, resting within these braids. **Illust. LI.**

It will be noticed that she wears a crescent. She is said to be the first of Roman Empresses to be so adorned. It may have been an indication of her Oriental origin.

In a third example (**Illust. LII.**) she appears to combine the "tourteau" of the *Manlia Scantilla* type (**Illust. L.**) with the deep braids with the cord-like edge of the large

brass type (*Illust. LI.*). This fashion of hers occurs in sculpture in her portrait in the Louvre (Bernouilli, *Röm. Icon.*, ii. 3, 16), and in the example in the Capitol (Bernouilli, *Röm. Icon.*, ii. 3, 18).

*Plautilla*, wife of Caracalla (circa 202 A.D.) was also of Oriental origin, and sometimes wears her hair like her relative Julia Domna, though not in so exaggerated a form. *Illust. LIII.*

A variety of this style, allowing the ear to be seen, is shown in *Illust. LIV.* The parallel lines on this head may represent "ondulation," but they look almost too solid for that style. In another piece (*Illust. LV.*) they suggest the padded rolls worn by Lucilla (*Illust. XLV.*). In this instance the plait at the back is rather large.

In the rare coin of Plautilla (with Caracalla), not long since acquired by my husband, her front hair is waved in a regular scheme like the American "bang;" i.e. each lock fixed by pomade. It is closely plaited at the back. *Illust. LVI.*

The relatives of Julia Domna seem to have done their hair as a rule in styles not dissimilar from hers. They adapt the mode to their own taste.

Her sister, *Julia Maesa* (died 223 A.D.), grandmother of Elagabalus, shows the braids of moderate depth and fine plaits at the back. *Illust. LVII.*

*Julia Paula*, who married Elagabalus in 219 A.D. (*Illust. LVIII.*), is hardly to be distinguished in coiffure, except that her ear is visible, from *Julia Soaemias*, daughter of Julia Maesa, who shared the fate of assassination with her son Elagabalus in 222 A.D. *Illust. LIX.*

That Paula's hair was straight by nature and, on occasion, artificially waved seems indicated by a comparison of *Illust. LVIII.* with a coin in the British



Museum. **Illust. LX.** In **Illust. LVIII.** there may be a suggestion of pads as in the style of Lucilla (**Illust. XLV.**).

A bust in the British Museum (No. 2009) of about 200 A.D., to which the name of Julia Paula is now (perhaps not incontestably) given, shows the ends of her hair drawn through the deeply falling braids and hanging like tassels.

*Aquilia Severa*, who succeeded Paula in the love of Elagabalus, after a few months' marriage, is so similar to Paula in her style of hair-dressing, that I need not illustrate it. An example of it may be studied in the British Museum cabinet (Coh., No. 8).

*Orbiana* (circa 230 A.D.), wife of Alexander Severus (**Illust. LXI.**), and her mother-in-law *Julia Mamaea*, who was a daughter of Julia Maesa, and niece of Julia Domna (**Illust. LXII.**), are almost identical in the disposition of their locks, remaining faithful to what may be called the "Syrian" tradition (see the bust in the British Museum, No. 1920).

The coins with the head of *Paulina*, wife of Maximinus, who died in 238 A.D., being all struck after her death, show the hair so covered by a veil that no details can be determined.

With *Otacia Severa* (circa 244 A.D.) a variety is introduced. The "ondulation," the braids, which leave the ear free, and the crescent are all depicted as before, but the plaits at the back, instead of being disposed "en tourteau," *i.e.* like a flat cake, are carried up the back of the head to about the crown. **Illust. LXIII.**

The plaits are often some three to five inches wide. An example in the round can be studied in the British Museum portrait-gallery (No. 1923).

I am told by some English ladies, who used to dress their hair in a similar fashion about the year 1876, that they were in the habit of *sewing* these plaits together, with silk to match their hair, in order to get the correct basket-work effect. Otacilia and her contemporaries may have adopted a similar plan. It is a style that continued for some time, and is favoured by *Herennia Etruscilla*, wife of Trajan Decius (*circa* 249–251)—**Illust. LXIV.**—though she sometimes reverts to the earlier style of Julia Mamaea, as given in **Illust. LXII.** Her bust, with very simple hair-dressing, is preserved in the British Museum (No. 1924).

*Tranquillina*, wife of Gordianus III (*circa* 241 A.D.), is similar in her style to Otacilia (**Illust. LXIII.**), but in her case the plait reaches the diadem. **Illust. LXV.**

*Severina*, wife of Aurelian (died 274 A.D.), carries the mass of plaits still higher, till they reach the brow and lie under the crescent. **Illust. LXVI.**

*Mariniana* (*circa* 254 A.D.), who is variously described as the wife or the sister of Valerianus, being always depicted with a veil, throws very little light on the subject. **Illust. LXVII.**

*Salonina* (*circa* 260–268 A.D.), wife of Gallienus, has her hair deeply waved on either side of the face, the ear exposed, a curved braid lying below it, and a plait or plaits running up the back of the head to meet a crescent diadem. **Illust. LXVIII.**

With this may be compared the medallion in the British Museum (published in *Roman Medallions in British Museum*, 1874, Pl. xlix.), where the plait does not go quite so high.

When we come to *Magnia Urbica*, wife of Carinus (*circa* 285 A.D.), a princess unmentioned in history, we

find the plait going under the crescent and lying in a loop over the forehead, similar to the style of Severina (*Illust. LXVI.*), and recalling that of Fulvia, some three centuries earlier (*Illust. VIII.*). *Illust. LXIX.*

About this time, indeed, there is a tendency to revert to the roll of hair above the forehead which characterizes some of the earlier busts, assumed to be portraits of Octavia, though now the effect is obtained by the looping of a plait brought up from the neck, rather than by a roll commencing at the brow. The "Octavian roll," as adopted by a "hard-favoured" lady, can be studied in Brunn und Arndt's *Corpus of Roman Portraits*, Pl. 61, 62.

A coin of *Galeria Valeria* (292 A.D.), found at Belgrade (*Illust. LXX.*), shows the plait brought up, while one struck at Siscia emphasizes the "Fulvia" braid (*Illust. LXXI.*). *Galeria's* hair in either case seems to grow very low over the brow, almost joining the eyebrows. If this represents her own hair, it does not inspire much confidence in her intellectual capacity, though, of course, it may be an artificial assumption of a "point" of beauty then in vogue.

It is really curious how often, amid fashions denoting every variety of elaboration, simplicity seems to have held its own. *Fausta*, wife of Constantine (*circa* 326 A.D.), has her deeply waved hair gathered into a knot that reminds us of the mode of *Lucilla* (*Illust. XLIV.*). *Illust. LXXII.*

But sometimes *Fausta* shows more elaboration of coiffure, as in the example preserved in Paris, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Illust. LXXIII.*). I am indebted to Mr. Wroth of the British Museum for kindly procuring for me an illustration of this unique medallion. The thick roll of hair in this instance is arranged in a similar

manner to the plaits previously mentioned (*Illust. LXXV., LXXVI., etc.*).

As the coins of *Helena* (died 328 A.D.), wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine, appear to have been struck for the most part in the time of Constantine, they may be considered here. On the small brass coin struck in London (*Illust. LXXXIV.*), her hair is waved in front, confined by a fairly wide band, or circlet, which also keeps in place a plait of hair brought up the back of the head and forming a loop on the forehead. On a similar coin struck at Trier (*Illust. LXXXV.*), this plait is represented in so conventional a manner as to suggest the bar at the back of a helmet.

Sometimes Helena is represented with a deep band apparently of woollen material round her head, over what looks like a skull-cap, just as a modern turban is worn round a fez. *Illust. LXXXVI.*

One is inclined to wonder whether this was the style objected to by Tertullian (died *circa* 240 A.D.), in his *De Virginibus Velandis* (ch. xviii.): "Some with their mitres and woollen bands do not veil their head, but bind it up." Like Fausta, Helena sometimes reverts to the simple Greek knot (cf. Coh., No. 14). The sculpture of this period shews, by its sarcophagi and portrait-busts, that elaboration was common. Young girls, till the third century, seem to have retained the simple style, but St. Jerome (*circa* 420 A.D.) objects to their floating hair elaborately decorated. The women of his day wore a high piled-up mass of hair which could hardly have been satisfactorily managed without false hair and pads ("Alienis crinibus turritum verticem struere," *Ep.*, 130. 7).

In the hair-dressing depicted in the Catacombs some examples of the third century show smooth braids, but

in the majority of cases crown-like plaits or rolls surround the head.

The helmet-like bar at the back of the head, already illustrated (*Illust. LXXV.*), occurs on the coins of *Aelia Flaccilla*, wife of Theodosius (died 388 A.D.). In this case the large plait starting from under the ear and rising to the brow must have been artificial. *Illust. LXXVII.*

For purposes of comparison I will here insert an illustration of a coin of *Honorius* (393-423 A.D.)—*Illust. LXXVIII.*—in his helmet. The same type occurs on the coins of Majorianus (457-461 A.D.): It almost looks as if the female imitation had been the sincerest form of flattery. It is a fashion which continues down to the end of the Empire of the West.

The head of *Theodora* shews a very simple knot with a wreath.

A typical example of the hair-dressing of the fifth century A.D. can be studied on the coins with the head of *Galla Placidia* (*Illust. LXXIX.*). She was sister of Honorius and wife of Constantius III (died 450 A.D.), and is well known to travellers in Italy by her splendid tomb at Ravenna.

The general structure of her "head" is like that of *Aelia Flaccilla* (*Illust. LXXVII.*), but instead of a wreath she wears what seems to be a network of beads starting from a rosette on the top of the head. As in the case of *Aelia Flaccilla* and *Honorius*, this diadem ends in pendent beads or tassels at the neck. The general effect must have been barbaric in splendour, particularly as she also wears long massive ear-rings, a heavy necklace, and other rich decorations. Above her head is the so-called "hand coming down from above," a device which begins as a closed fist holding a wreath, and ultimately becomes an

integral part of the head-dress. This appears in a coin of *Aelia Eudocia* (circ. 450 A.D.), wife of Theodosius II. **Illust. LXXX.**

A similar object occurs on the coins with the head of *Pulcheria*, wife of Marcianus (circ. 453 A.D.). **Illust. LXXXI.**

At this point, perhaps, it will be well for me to close this paper, in which I have tried to follow chronologically the vagaries of the hair-dressing of so many generations of Roman ladies; for I am afraid that, though much more might be found of interest connected with the subject, the patience of my readers may be exhausted.

MARIA MILLINGTON EVANS.

#### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES.

1. Head of Diana (Postumia). Babelon, *Monnaies de la Répub. Romaine*, ii. 382. 9. 77 B.C. B. M. Silver.
2. Head of Diana (?) (Aelia). Babelon, i. 110. 89 B.C. B. M. Silver.
3. Coin of Cornelia gens. Babelon, i. 421. 59. B. M. Silver.
4.       "       "       "       Babelon, ii. 323. 12. B. M. Silver.
- P. 41. Statue of Vestal. "Terme" Museum, Rome. Photograph.
5. Coin of Otho. Coh. 14. Evans Coll. Gold.
6. Coin of Cleopatra. B. M. Issued at Ascalon. Silver.
7.       "       "       B. M. Struck at Antioch. Silver.
8. Fulvia, as Victory. Coh. 2. Evans Coll. Gold.
9. Octavia. Struck in Athens. Babelon, i. 183. 69. B. M. Gold.

10. Antistia gens. Babelon, *Mon. de la Répub. Romaine*, i. 153. 23. Evans Coll. Gold.
11. Claudia gens. Head of Diana. Babelon, i. 349. 5. B. M. Silver.
12. Agrippina the Elder. Coh. 1. B. M. Large brass.
13. Antonia, daughter of M. Antony. Coh. 3. Evans Coll. Gold.
14. Messalina. Struck in Crete. *Num. Chron.*, III. xiv. 1, 3. B. M. Silver.
15. Agrippina II (and Claudius). Coh. 3. Evans Coll. Gold.
16. Agrippina II (and Nero). Coh. 6. Evans Coll. Gold.
17. Livia. Coh. 5. Evans Coll. Middle brass.
18. „ Coh. 1 (veiled). Evans Coll. Middle brass.
19. Domitilla (and Vespasian). Coh. 1. Evans Coll. Gold.
20. Poppaea (and Vespasian). Coh. 1. B. M. Gold.
21. Julia Titi. Coh. 6. Evans Coll. Gold.
22. Domitia, wife of Domitian. Coh. 5. Evans Coll. Gold.
23. „ „ „ Coh. 10. Evans Coll. Gold.
24. „ „ „ Coh. 7. B. M. Large brass.
25. Plotina, wife of Trajan. Coh. 1. Evans Coll. Gold.
26. „ „ „ Wigan Coll. B. M. Large brass.
27. Plotina (and Matidia). Coh. 1. Evans Coll. Gold.
28. Marciana. Coh. 3. B. M. Gold.
29. Matidia. Coh. 9. Evans Coll. Gold.
30. Sabina. Coh. 69. Evans Coll. Large brass.
31. „ Coh. 79. Evans Coll. Gold.
32. „ Coh. 28. Evans Coll. Gold.
33. Faustina I. Coh. 310. Evans Coll. Silver-coated medallion.
34. Faustina I. Coh. 162. Evans Coll. Large brass.
35. „ Coh. 64. Evans Coll. Gold.
36. „ Coh. 148. B. M. Gold.
37. „ Coh. 238. Evans Coll. Gold.
38. Faustina II. Coh. 198. Evans Coll. Gold.
39. „ Coh. 60. Evans Coll. Gold.
40. „ Coh. 156. Evans Coll. Gold.

41. Faustina II. Coh. 230. Evans Coll. Gold.
42. „ Coh. 104. Evans Coll. Gold.
43. „ Coh. 244. Evans Coll. Gold.
44. Lucilla. Coh. 39. Evans Coll. Large brass.
45. „ Var. of Coh. 105. Evans Coll. Brass  
Medallion.
46. Crispina. Coh. 39. Evans Coll. Gold.
47. „ Coh. 27. Evans Coll. Large brass.
48. Manlia Scantilla. Coh. 3. Evans Coll. Large brass.
49. Didia Clara. Coh. 4. Evans Coll. Large brass.
50. Julia Domna. Coh. 193. Evans Coll. Gold.
51. „ „ Coh. 88. Evans Coll. Large brass.
52. „ „ Coh. 110. Evans Coll. Gold.
53. Plautilla. Coh. 24. Evans Coll. Gold.
54. „ Coh. 4. Evans Coll. Gold.
55. „ Coh. 6. Evans Coll. Gold.
56. Plautilla (with Caracalla). Coh. 1. Evans Coll. Gold.
57. Julia Maesa. Coh. 47. Evans Coll. Large brass.
58. Julia Paula. Coh. 5. B. M. Large brass.
59. Julia Soaemias. Coh. 11. Evans Coll. Large brass.
60. Julia Paula. Coh. 8. Evans Coll.
61. Orbiana. Coh. 4. Evans Coll. Large brass.
62. Julia Mamaea. Coh. 21. Evans Coll. Large brass.
63. Otacilia Severa. Coh. 55. Evans Coll. Large brass.
64. Herennia Etruscilla. Coh. 21. B. M. Medallion.
65. Tranquillina. Coh. 4. B. M. Silver.
66. Severina. Coh. 6. B. M. Gold.
67. Mariniana. Coh. 7. Evans Coll. Large brass.
68. Salonina. Coh. 49. (Pont. d'Amécourt.) Evans Coll.  
Gold.
69. Magnia Urbica. Coh. 8. Evans Coll. Gold.
70. Galeria Valeria. Coh. 2. Evans Coll. Gold.
71. „ „ Coh. 4. (Pont. d'Amécourt.) Evans  
Coll. Gold.
72. Fausta. Coh. 3. Evans Coll. Gold.
73. „ Coh. 4. Fröhner, *Médaillons de l'Empire  
Romain*, p. 292. Paris. Bronze.
74. Helena. Coh. 12. London. Evans Coll. Small brass.
75. „ Coh. 12. Trier. Evans Coll. Small brass.



- 76. Helena. Coh. 7. B. M. Medallion. (Pl. lvi,  
Catalogue of Roman Medallions, B. M.)
- 77. Aelia Flaccilla. Coh. 5. Evans Coll. Second brass.
- 78. Honorius. Coh. 43. Evans Coll. Gold.
- 79. Galla Placidia. Coh. 13. Evans Coll. Gold.
- 80. Aelia Eudocia. Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, Pl. v.  
22. Evans Coll. Gold.
- 81. Pulcheria. Sabatier, *Mon. Byz.*, Pl. vi. 11. Evans  
Coll. Gold.

V.

AN UNPUBLISHED HALF-UNICORN OF  
JAMES IV OF SCOTLAND.



THE advent of a new coin in either the English or the Scottish series is of such unusual occurrence that I consider myself fortunate to be allowed to bring to the notice of the Society what appears to be an unpublished and probably unique half-unicorn of James IV of Scotland. The coin is in the collection of the Marquess of Bute, and it is by his kind permission that I am afforded the opportunity of placing it on record. I believe it has been long in the possession of the family of the present owner, as it was quite recently discovered in a large collection of coins and medals of all countries and of all times, which does not appear to have been disturbed for very many years past.

Before describing this new piece I should like to give a few particulars of the issues of the unicorns and half-unicorns which took place during the reigns of James III, IV, and V; for the reason that, until Mr. Cochran Patrick published his *Records of the Coinage*

of Scotland, and Mr. Burns issued his extensive work on *The Coinage of Scotland*, there was much diversity of opinion as to the classification of these coins, and as to which pieces should be assigned to the different reigns. It will also enable us to assign a date to the new coin. It was only during the reigns mentioned above that these denominations were struck. It is scarcely necessary to say that the unicorns and half-unicorns were only struck in gold.

The original Order commanding the striking of unicorns does not appear to be recorded, and their first mention is met with in the account rendered by Thomas Tod and Alexander Livingstoun, Masters of the Mint, on August 18, 1487, in which it is stated that from October 7, 1486, to that date the gold coinage amounted to 8 lbs. 1 oz. issued in unicorns, and the silver to 181 lbs. 1 oz. issued in 14-dwt. groats and 7-dwt. half-groats.

The type of the unicorn of James III is as follows:—

*Obv.*—† ΙΑΥΟΒΥΣ : ΔΕΙ : ΓΡΑΨΙΑ : ΡΑΧ : ΣΩΤΟ, ΣΩΤΟΙ, ΣΩΤΟΡ, &c. A unicorn, standing l., supporting a shield charged with the Scottish arms; a crown on the unicorn's neck, ornamented with three fleurs-de-lis; a chain attached to the crown, extending to the off hind hoof of the animal and terminating in a ring.

*Rev.*—† ΑΧΥΡΕΑΤ : ΔΕ' : ΕΤ : ΔΙΣΙΡΕΝΤ : ΙΝΙΜΙΔ. A large wavy star of twelve rays displayed upon a slender cross with broad floriated ends; a pellet in the centre. Wt. 59 grs.

The stops between the words of the legends at first consisted of stars of six points; but later these were varied to stars of five points. The mint-mark on the obverse and reverse is a fleur-de-lis; but a few specimens are known with a cross crosslet instead of the fleur-de-lis

on the obverse only. The abbreviations of some words of the legends vary a good deal, and occasionally the Latin N instead of the old English n is used in the word DISSIPANTVR.

The half-unicorns are of the same type as the unicorns; but the legends are more abbreviated, especially in the case of that on the reverse: the stops between the words consist of stars of six points only; but in some cases they are omitted; and the mint-mark is always a fleur-de-lis.

The silver coins, which were struck simultaneously with the first issue of the unicorns and half-unicorns, were the groats with the full-faced bust of the king wearing a crown of three fleurs-de-lis on the obverse, and with a crown and a fleur-de-lis in opposite angles of the cross, and three pellets in the other two angles on the reverse. Burns<sup>1</sup> has also ascribed to this period, but somewhat later, the three-quarter face groats with the arched crown, and with the crown and pellets in alternate angles of the cross on the reverse; but he admits that these groats were also struck during the first years of the reign of James IV. He was, however, unable to distinguish the two series.

The absence of any reference to the issue of unicorns in the records of the Mint during the reign of James IV, except for a notice in the accounts for the year 1496-1497 of the Lord Treasurer, induced Lindsay and others to attribute the whole of the unicorns with the old English lettering to James III, together with those pieces having Roman lettering, but which are without the numeral 4 after the king's name. Burns,<sup>2</sup> however,

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<sup>1</sup> *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 183, 184.

has clearly shown that, taking these gold coins in conjunction with variations in the silver and billon pieces, Lindsay's view cannot any longer be accepted; and he therefore proposed to divide the issues of the unicorns struck by James IV into the following eight series :—

I. Those with the words divided by V-shaped ornaments; these are appropriated to James IV, as some of the groats with the legends thus divided have their obverses from dies of the James IV numeral groats with QR  $\pi$  (= Quartus).

II. Those with the words divided by ornaments resembling broken stars of five points. Some of the James IV numeral groats with QT have the words on the reverses similarly divided.

III. Those with the words divided by points, of which some show the early form of the Arabic numeral 4 ( $\Omega$ ) at the end of the legend on the obverse. These have their corresponding issues in the placks with the old English lettering, on which the words are divided by points, and in the crown and fleur-de-lis pennies with the second style of head and crown on which the words are also divided by points.

IV. Those with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis, of which some have interchanges of die with the unicorns with the Roman lettering.

V. Those with the words on the obverse divided by points, and on the reverse by fleurs-de-lis.

VI. Those with the words on the obverse divided by fleurs-de-lis, and on the reverse by points.

VII. Those with the words on the obverse divided by fleurs-de-lis, and with Roman lettering on the reverse, and the words divided by stars of five points.

VIII. Those with Roman lettering on both sides, and with the numeral 4 after the king's name.

These divisions are rather minute; but Burns has clearly shown that where the successive issues of the unicorns cannot be traced on the coins themselves, the silver and billon coins come to the rescue, and enable us to locate those which might otherwise have been uncertain as to their position.

In respect of type and inscriptions these unicorns of James IV are precisely similar to those of James III. On the earlier pieces (*i.e.* Classes I. and II.) the mint-mark is a fleur-de-lis; but in Classes III.-VII. it is a cross-pattée, and in Class VIII. a crown. The half-unicorns known to Burns belonged only to Classes I. and II. These vary from the unicorns in having sometimes the mint-mark a plain cross, or two broken stars of five points; in the latter case there are no stops between the letters.

The classification proposed by Burns seems perfectly sound, as it is supported by double evidence, *viz.* that of the silver and billon coins, and that of the small variations in the unicorns themselves, their mint-marks, and their styles of lettering. In classifying the English coins of the same period, one of the chief guides is the mint-mark, and this also applies to these Scottish pieces; for first we have the fleur-de-lis as on the unicorns of James III; this is changed to the cross-pattée, and this in turn gives way to the crown, which is the only mint-mark found on the unicorns attributed to James V.

There is one important point in connection with the first issue of the unicorns of James IV, which Burns does not appear to have noticed. It is that the V-shaped stops are only found on the groats, which have for reverse

legend, "Salvum Fac Populum Tuum Domine." This legend occurs for the first time on the third issue of the groats, which have on the obverse the facing bust of the king crowned, and on the reverse a mullet of five points and three pellets in alternate angles of the cross. Previous to that issue the legend on the reverse had been invariably from the time of the introduction of the groat by David II in 1358, "Dominus Protector Meus et Liberator Meus." The date of the issue of these groats with this new legend is uncertain; but if we allow a period of eight years for the currency of the two previous issues, this would give us the year 1496, the only one during which we find a mention of unicorns in the reign of James IV. It would therefore almost appear as if the issue of the first unicorns under James IV was contemporaneous with this change in the legend of the groat. This will be an important point to notice when we attempt to fix the date of striking of our new half-unicorn. The old legend on the groat when once dropped was never resumed.

During the early part of the reign of James V we find frequent references to the issue of unicorns. In March, 1517, a special permission was given to Robert Bertoune, the Comptroller, to coin 80 ounces of gold into unicorns for the maintenance of the army, eight unicorns weighing the ounce, and of the fineness of twenty-one carats; and the Earl of Arran was also licensed to coin 30 ounces in unicorns of the fineness of the gold of the Mint. In March, 1518, the Council directed that the irons of the unicorn should be delivered to the Treasurer for the coinage of 50 ounces of gold into unicorns, to be of the weight of the old unicorn and of the fineness of the gold of the Mint; but because

the keys were lost and the said irons could not be got at, another minute appears in the Books of the Council authorizing the locks to be taken off and new ones made. The next order is in March of the following year, and by it the Council granted permission to James, Earl of Arran, to coin 50 ounces of gold in pieces of the weight of the old unicorn, and of the fineness of the gold of the Mint, and further directed that the Treasurer should see that the unicorns coined by the earl should hold the due weight and fineness. From these records it is evident that down to 1519 there was a fairly extensive issue of unicorns; but Lindsay (*Coinage of Scotland*, p. 136) says, "Whether any unicorns were thus struck from the old dies does not from these acts appear as a matter of certainty, although the probability is that they were. However, as these coins present no distinguishing marks of such coinage, and as the dies were certainly those of James III, those of James IV which bear the numeral not being so well adapted for the purpose, I shall consider all the unicorns except those which bear the numeral 4 as the coinage of this prince," i.e. James III.

That Lindsay was wrong in this opinion there can be no question, for if we follow the sequence of the issues of the unicorns as given by Burns, there is no difficulty in assigning to James V those pieces which mostly resemble the last issue of James IV, but which are without the numeral after his name. These unicorns and half-unicorns are those which have the legends in Roman letters, both on the obverse and reverse, and the crown for mint-mark. They have mostly trefoils as stops between the words of the legends, but occasionally pellets or plain stops are met with. The general type is the same as that of the previous issues, but on some specimens the



letters X C (or X only), which are supposed to be an abbreviation of XPICTOC, are found under the unicorn on the obverse. Certain other unicorns with Roman letters on the obverse at least, and countermarked with an heraldic cinquefoil in one of the quarters of the cross on the reverse, may also be attributed to this reign. The reverses of these unicorns with which this countermark is associated were presumably from dies of the previous reign. Burns notes that this is the earliest instance of a countermark on Scottish coins.<sup>3</sup>

It is probable that the issue of unicorns ceased in 1519, and we only meet with one other mention of these coins in the records of the Mint. It is during the reign of James VI, when the Regent Morton is stated to have presented to the King of France a golden basin of the capacity of four English quarts, filled with coins called unicorns, both the basin and its contents being made of the native gold of Scotland. There are, however, no extant unicorns which can be assigned to so late a date, so that if these unicorns were struck at the time in question old dies must have been used for their production.

Having given an outline of the various issues of the unicorns and half-unicorns throughout the successive reigns of James III, IV, and V, I will now proceed to describe the half-unicorn, which is the subject of this paper, and of which a figure is given on p. 66. The description is as follows :—

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<sup>3</sup> Cochran Patrick (*Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i. p. cxxxii.) suggests that unicorns with the cinquefoil countermark were those issued by the Earl of Arran in 1519.

*Obv.*—✠ ΙΧΚΟΒVS Α ΔΕΙ Α ΘΡΑ Α ΡΕΧ Α ΣΚΟΤΟΡΥ Α  
 QR' Α. A unicorn, standing to l., supporting  
 a shield charged with the Scottish arms; a  
 crown on the unicorn's neck, ornamented with  
 three fleurs-de-lis; below, under the inner hind  
 hoof, a ring, the chain to which it is attached  
 being shown by two pellets only.

*Rev.*—✠ ΣΧΛΩΜ Α ΦΑΑ Α ΡΟΡΛΥ Α ΤΥΥΜ Α ΔΝΑ'. A  
 flaming star of fourteen rays, in the centre of  
 which is the letter I (= ΙΧΚΟΒVS).

Size .75. Wt. 25.8 grs.

The only particulars in which this piece resembles the early unicorns or half-unicorns of James IV is in the type of the obverse, in the name of the king, and in the legends being in the old English style. The points of difference are many. On the obverse the name and title of the king is followed by the Latin numeral QR (=QVARTVS), which at once identifies the coin with James IV, and on the reverse the long cross is omitted; the wavy star has the king's initial I in the centre, and the legend ΣΧΛΩΜ ΦΑΑ ΡΟΡΛΥΜ ΤΥΥΜ ΔΟΜΙΝΑ is substituted for that of ΑΧΥΡΕΑΤ ΔΕΥΣ ΕΤ ΔΙΣΣΙΡΑΝΤΥΡ ΙΝΙΜΙΔΙ. On both obverse and reverse the stops between the words of the legends are trefoils, which are placed upright or vertically. Though varying in so many details from the ordinary unicorns and half-unicorns, this new piece is of the highest importance for the identification of the early issues of these coins under James IV. It also confirms the classification proposed by Burns, which, as we have seen, does not coincide with those of Lindsay and earlier writers on Scottish coins. Hitherto we have not met with any unicorns or half-unicorns which, like the groats and placks, have the letters QR (=QVARTVS) following the name and title of the king. Those with the Arabic

numeral 4 immediately following the name of the king have the legends in Roman lettering only, which shows that they are of a later date than the pieces with the old English lettering. The substitution of the *FAC SALVVM*, &c., legend for that of the *EXVRGAT DEVS*, &c., is another important innovation, as it serves to connect this coin with the *QRA* groats, with the introduction of which this reverse legend was adopted, as we have already noted. The omission of the cross on the reverse separates this coin from all the other known unicorns and half-unicorns, and the introduction of the initial of the king in the centre of the wavy star is without parallel in the whole Scottish coinage. In this respect it was an attempt to copy the earlier English nobles and half-nobles. Another point to be noticed is the use of trefoils for stops after the words of the legends. These stops do not occur on any other gold or silver coins of this reign; they are, however, met with on certain placks which Burns has assigned to the earlier period of the reign of James IV, and which have the numeral *QRA* at the end of the obverse legend. It is, therefore, evident that this new type of the half-unicorn fits in, first with the earlier unicorns and half-unicorns of James IV, which have the old English lettering, and also that it is contemporaneous with the *QRA* and *FAC SALVVM*, &c., groats, and the placks which have also the numeral and stops as trefoils.

In discussing the dates of the earlier issues of the groats of this reign, it has been suggested that it was probable that the *FAC SALVVM* groats were introduced about the year 1496; and as it is only in that year that we have any mention in the records of the coinage of James IV of the issue of unicorns, we may conclude that the changes in the legend and the type of the groat were

contemporaneous with the first issue of the unicorn. This view seems to be confirmed by our new coin, and it is to that date that I would assign its issue. Moreover, it shows an attempt to change the type and the reverse legend of the half-unicorns, which, however, was not persisted in. For this reason, and also on account of its extreme rarity, this coin is probably a pattern, and as such would rank with the so-called six-angel piece of James IV which is in the British Museum, and of which only one specimen also is known.

H. A. GRUEBER.

VI.  
THE SILVER MEDAL OR MAP OF  
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

(See Plate VII.)

Of all the medals of the British series there is, perhaps, none of greater interest to the English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic than that commemorating the voyage of Sir Francis Drake round the world, which he completed in the year 1580. The medal has already been described three times, if not more. First, in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of London,<sup>1</sup> by Sir A. Wollaston Franks; secondly, in the *Medallic Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland*;<sup>2</sup> and thirdly, in a separate work by Mr. Miller Christy,<sup>3</sup> published in 1900.

Notwithstanding the absence of novelty in the case, I make no apology for calling the attention of the Royal Numismatic Society to this most interesting memorial, inasmuch as no account of it has as yet appeared in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In doing so, I shall venture to make free use of what has been written by those who have anticipated me in the matter. The description of the medal I borrow from the *Medallic Illustrations*.

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<sup>1</sup> II. Ser. vol. vi. p. 161, March 12, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 131, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> *The Silver Map of the World, a contemporary medallion commemorative of Drake's great voyage (1577-80)*.

"No. 83. THE VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, 1580.

"A silver circular plate, stamped in imitation of engraving; on one side is the Eastern Hemisphere, and on the other the Western. The course taken by Drake in his voyage is marked by a dotted line, and the date of his departure is inscribed: *D. F. Dra. Exitus anno 1577 id. Dec.* (The departure of Francis Drake, in the year 1577, on the ides of December, *i.e.* 13 Dec.), and of his return, *Reditus anno 1580, 4 Cal. Oc.* (Return in the year 1580, on the 4th of the calends of October, *i.e.* 28 Sept.).

"27.

"M. B. *Æ.* Viscount Dillon, *Æ.* Rare.

"This is a most interesting and valuable record of the famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake round the world, a journey which it took him two years and ten months to perform. Besides the course taken by Drake, this piece also marks the discovery of Frobisher Strait by Martin Frobisher, in August, 1576, but has no reference to Cavendish's voyage in 1586. It may, therefore, be considered a contemporary record issued soon after Drake's return, and certainly before 1586. The style of the engraving on the plate bears a close resemblance to the work of Jodocus Hondius, an engraver of Amsterdam, who was famous for his geographical drawings and charts, and who worked chiefly at the end of the 16th century."

In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, to which reference is there made, Sir A. W. Franks describes the silver plate belonging at that time to the Hon. Arthur Dillon, F.S.A., and enters into a discussion as to the method by which these apparently engraved plates were produced. He inclines to the opinion that they were struck, and neither engraved nor cast. He gives a list of

some of the large plaques of the same kind, mostly by Simon Passe, and also cites a number of counters of precisely the same character. In my Anniversary Address in the year 1902,<sup>4</sup> I made some suggestions as to the mechanical process by which it appeared to me possible that dies for such plaques and counters could be produced by an etching process.

Perhaps this is the proper place in which to say that the specimen of the medal now exhibited is the same as that which was described to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir A. W. Franks, having passed from Lord Dillon's collection<sup>5</sup> into that of the late Mr. John G. Murdoch, and at his sale<sup>6</sup> having been transferred to mine. The illustration is from the block used for the Sale Catalogue, and does not show the small extension from the plate at the North Pole, which is perforated so as to form a loop for suspension.

I gather from Mr. Miller Christy's book that only three or at most four examples of this medal are known; two of which are in the British Museum. Of the three that he has seen he regards mine as the best. Its superior condition is probably owing to its greater thickness and weight. This is 424 grains troy, the other two weigh only 300·6 grains and 260 grains respectively.

Mr. Miller Christy enters into very full details with regard to the geographical particulars given in the maps, and recites the 68 names of countries and places that occur in the map of the Eastern Hemisphere, and the 44 in that of the Western.

Including two of the Western names, he calls attention

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<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings*, 1901-2, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> 1892, Lot 714.

<sup>6</sup> June, 1904, Lot 10.

to eight inscriptions or legends on the medal. The first of these is BACALLAOS *ab Ang.* 1490. He says that "this name (which is of somewhat uncertain origin and vague application) was applied generally to the region discovered by John Cabot in 1497. The fact that the date should be given as 1490 is probably due to an oversight and without significance."

Such a mistake in a date occurs, as will be seen, in other places on the map, but the term "Bacallaos" requires a few words of explanation. Both in Spanish and Portuguese the word signifies "Cod-fish," and the region to which the name is applied is in close proximity to the cod-frequented seas of Newfoundland. Indeed, Peter Martyr, in his book *De Orbe Novo*,<sup>7</sup> to which I shall subsequently have again to refer, gives the reason why the country was so called by Cabot. "Baccalláos Cabottus ipse terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earum pelago tantam repperit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, ut etiam illi nauigia interdum detardarent." Cabot himself called those lands Baccalláos, because in the sea around them he encountered such a multitude of large fishes as big as tunnies, so called by the natives, that at times navigation was hindered.

The second noteworthy inscription is TERRA AVSTRALIS NVNDVM (*sic*) COGNITA,<sup>8</sup> which is "applied to the imaginary Great Southern Continent, the existence of which was believed in at the time the Silver Map was made."

The third and fourth inscriptions relate to the starting of Drake's expedition—the one, *Draci exitus*, is off the

<sup>7</sup> 8vo, Parisiis, 1587, p. 232.

<sup>8</sup> "The southern land not yet explored."



coast of Spain; and the other, *D. F. Dra. Exitus Anno 1577, id. Dece.*, is off that of Brazil.

Before proceeding farther with the voyage as shown on the medal, it will be well to give some few particulars as to Drake's life and character, and, though biographical notices of him are to be found in every Encyclopaedia and Biographical Dictionary, I shall, in the main, draw my information from the delightful account of him given by Camden, the antiquary and numismatist, in his *Annales of Elizabeth*,<sup>9</sup> to some extent supplemented by Fuller, in his *Holy and Profane State*,<sup>10</sup> and his *Worthies of England*.<sup>11</sup>

Francis Drake, who was born about the year 1545, near South Tavistock, in Devonshire, was, it is said, the eldest of twelve sons of his father, Edmund, who was a minister. To quote the words of Camden, "This *Drake* (to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was borne of meane (or more properly, middle-class)<sup>12</sup> parentage in *Devonshire*, and had *Francis Russell* (afterwards Earle of *Bedford*) to his Godfather, who according to custome gave him his Christen name." While he was still a child, his father, who had embraced the Protestant religion, had on that account "to flee his cuntry" and withdraw himself into Kent, where Francis was brought up: "God," as Fuller says, "dividing the honour betwixt two Counties, that the one might have his birth and the other his education."

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<sup>9</sup> English Translation, 3rd ed., 1635, p. 219; Drake's ship is shown in a remarkably bad map of South America, forming part of the engraved frontispiece.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. 1648, p. 123.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. 1662, p. 261.

<sup>12</sup> "*Loco mediocri*" in the original Latin. See *N. and Q.*, IX. Ser. vol. iv. p. 281.

After the death of Henry VIII, the father became a kind of naval chaplain, and soon afterwards was ordained deacon and made Vicar of Upnor, on the Medway. Francis was apprenticed to the master of a bark, and was thus brought up a sailor. By his diligence he so pleased his master, that at his death he bequeathed to him the bark. Hearing that Sir John Hawkins was preparing a voyage to America in 1567, Drake's adventurous spirit led him to sell his bark and to join Hawkins in what turned out to be a most unprosperous adventure, from which "hee hardly escaped with the losse of his goods."

"Five years after, to weet, in the yeare 1572, when he had gotten reasonable store of money by playing the saylor and the Pirate, hee, to make himselfe whole of the dammage hee had received of the *Spaniards* (which a Divine belonging to the Fleet had easily perswaded him to be lawfull) sayled againe with a shippe of warre, which he named the *Dragon*, and two Pinaces into America." When there, he robbed the muleteers from Panama of much gold and brought it to his ship, leaving silver behind as too heavy to be carried over the mountains.

"And whilst he roved for a time up and downe the places adioyning, he espied from the mountains the *South Sea*. Hereupon the man, being inflamed with affectation of glory and wealth, burnt with so vehement a desire to navigate that Sea, that falling downe there upon his knee, hee craved the assistance of God, that he might one day navigate and survey the same, and hereunto he bound himselfe with a vow. From this time his minde was continually pricked forward, night and day, to pay his vow."

Drake had "now growne abundantly rich and busied

himself silently with these cares," so that on December 13, 1577, he set sail from Plymouth with five ships and 163 sailors, in order to "navigate that South Sea which still ran in his mind and to cast the Dice of fortune." "And now comming neere the *Aequator*, *Drake* being very carefull of his mens health, let every one of them bloud with his owne hands."

On April 26, 1578, he entered the mouth of the River of Plate. On August 20 he came with three ships (for two he had left to the waves, shipping the men and the munition into the rest) to the Straits of Magellan, and here the map comes in and records the discovery of islands which he named after the Queen, *In. R. Elizabetæ 1579 ab Anglif*, but in this case again there is an error in the date, which should be 1578.

On September 6, having passed the Straits, he encountered a terrific storm, during which his ships were separated; one foundered with all hands, a second came back through the Straits and ultimately returned safe to England, and Drake's vessel, the *Golden Hind*, of 100 tons burden, remained alone. But by the end of September he had begun his raids upon the Spaniards, sometimes attacking their ships and sometimes pillaging on land.

At Taurapasa, where he landed, "he found a *Spaniard*, sleeping securely upon the shore, and by him thirteene barres or wedges of silver, to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckets, which he commanded to be carried away, not so much as once waking the man." When he sacked the town of St. Iago, together with the chapel, the booty thereof "fell to Fletcher, Minister of the Word in the Fleet." To use the words of a contemporary MS.,<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Harley MS. 280, ff. 83-90.

"hee found there a chappell, which he rifled and tooke from thence a chalice of silver and twoo cruets of silver and the altar cloth, all which hee tooke away with him and brought them on board, and gave all the spoyle of that chappell to Mr. Fletcher his precher." The quantity of treasure which he acquired seems almost incredible. Both at Arica and Lima he found a number of vessels riding at anchor without a soul on board, and from all he gathered spoil.

"And now, thinking himselfe abundantly enriched, and sufficiently recompensed for the priuate iniury done unto him by the *Spaniards* at the Hauen of Saint *John de Vllua*, he began to thinke upon his returne. To returne by the strait of *Magellan* seemed most dangerous, both for the often tempests and uncertaine shelves and shallowes, and also lest the *Spaniards* should there lay wayt for him against his comming backe." "Hee held his course therefore northward to the latitude of 42 degrees, to discover if there were any strait on that side, by which hee might return the next way home. But when he saw nothing but thick cloudes, sharp cold, open shores, and couered with snow, he descended to 38 degrees, and meeting with a commodious harbour, stayed there awhile." In going northwards he passed what the map calls "Californoa."

At New Albion, where Drake stayed, the people, who were most pleasant in their manners, wished that Drake should become their King, an honour which apparently he declined; but he could not "conjecture that the *Spaniards* had ever touched so farre." On the map we find the inscription *NOVA ALBION ab Anglis 1580 inuenta*. Here again is an error of a year, as the date should be 1579. Camden proceeds—

"This Country, being a fruitfull soyle and very full of Deere and Connyes, it pleased him to name *New Albion*, setting up an inscription upon a post, which noted the yeere of our Lord, the name of Queene ELIZABETH, and their arriuall there, fastening vnderneath some of Queene ELIZABETHS Coyne."

The Harley MS. already quoted says, "In this place Drake set up a greate post and nayled thereon a VI<sup>d</sup> which the countreye people wooshipped as if it had bin God; also he nayled uppon this post a plate of lead and scratched therein the Queene's name."

He sailed thence, and came to the Molucca Islands in November, 1579, but on January 9 struck upon a rock under water, and it was almost by a miracle that his ship was saved. Thence Drake sailed on by Java and round the Cape of Good Hope, near which the word *Reditus* appears. "From whence he returned with a prosperous gale into *England*, the third of November (? September 28), in the yeare 1580, to the Haven of Plimmouth, from whence he had set forth, having sayled round about the world, in the space of three yeeres or thereabout, to the great admiration of all men."

As Camden in an earlier passage says, he was "flowing with great wealth, and flourishing with greater glory, having prosperously sayled round about the world, being if not the first of all which may challenge this glory, yet surely the first next after Magellan, whom death cut off in the midst of his voyage."

The medal records his return in these words: "*Reditus anno 1580 4 Cal. Oc.*" = September 28th. The eighth and last inscription to be noticed refers to the discoveries of Frobisher, and not of Drake. On the medal Frobisher's Bay is shown in its true position, though it is not named,

and on the adjacent land can be read, "*Meta incognita inuenta ab Anglis 1576*"—an unknown goal found by the English, 1576.

To come back to Drake. On his return, the Queen received him graciously, but laid up his wealth by way of sequestration, and this was not without cause; as Sandford<sup>14</sup> put it, "the *Spanish* Ambassador required a restoration of the Goods (incredible quantities of gold, silver, and precious stones) as taken from the Subjects of *Spain* in the *Indian* Seas: Upon which the Queen (having before sequestered them) repaid a great Part of the same to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain's* Agent; which afterwards was ungratefully employed in the *Low Country Wars*."

Drake's ship, the *Golden Hind*, was drawn up by the Queen's command in a little creek near Deptford, for a monument of his so lucky sailing round about the world, and "in it being consecrated for a memoriall with great ceremony, the Queen was banquetted, and honoured *Drake* with the dignity of Knighthood." The ship has long since perished, but a chair made from its timber was presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford in 1662, and bears upon it the following inscription by the poet Cowley:—

"To this great ship which round the globe has run  
And matched in race the chariot of the sun,  
This Pythagorean ship (for it may claim  
Without presumption so deserved a name)  
By knowledge once, and transformation now,  
In her new shape this sacred part allow.

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<sup>14</sup> *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, etc.*, ed. 1707, p. 513. Drake's return is made to be on November 3, 1580, instead of September 28.

Drake and his ship could not have wished from Fate  
A happier station or more blest estate ;  
For lo ! a seat of endless rest is given  
To her in Oxford, and to him in heaven." <sup>15</sup>

Drake himself never lost his adventurous disposition, but died at sea while on another expedition on January 28, 1595/6. "He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it."

"Though *Rome's Religion* should in time return,  
*Drake*, none thy body will ungrave again :  
There is no fear Posterity should burn  
Those bones which free from fire in Sea remain."

The only questions that now remain for consideration are as to the date of the issue of the medal, and as to the name of the artist that engraved it.

As to the skill and the accuracy of the work, there cannot be two opinions. Leaving the *Terra nondum cognita* out of the account, the outlines of the land in both hemispheres show a marvellous amount of knowledge in the engraver, and for geographical details the maps could hardly be surpassed even at the present day. The only palpable errors consist in an extension of Brazil too far to the east, and of New Albion too far to the west.

But it is precisely this general accuracy and this exaggeration of Brazil that tend to confirm the attribution by Mr. Miller Christy of the silver map and that which is attached to the work of Peter Martyr de Orbe Novo, already mentioned, to the same engraver. Unfortunately, we know no more of his name than the initials F. G. His map of the New World is dated 1586, and in many minute details exactly corresponds with that on the silver medal. Having regard to all

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<sup>15</sup> *N. and Q.*, III. Ser. vol. ii. p. 492.

the circumstances of the case, I agree with Mr. Miller Christy that the medal was not engraved by Hondius, that it cannot be earlier than April 4, 1581, when Drake was knighted on board the *Golden Hind* by Queen Elizabeth, but that it dates from a somewhat later period in the self-same year.

When we consider all the circumstances of Drake's expedition, and the success that accompanied it, we cannot but be struck with amazement at the boldness of his adventure and the small force at his command. He left Plymouth with five ships only,<sup>16</sup> the *Pelican* (afterwards the *Golden Hind*) of 100 tons, the *Elizabeth* about 80 tons, and three smaller vessels, the *Marigold*, the *Swan*, and the *Benedict*, and such an array seems absurdly disproportioned to the magnitude of the attack on Spain that he was undertaking. But after the disaster near Cape Horn, his force was reduced to one ship only, the *Golden Hind*, and when that vessel struck on a rock near Celebes, she had on board only fifty-eight men all told, the names of forty-nine of whom are still preserved.<sup>17</sup> With this handful of men Drake carried out the task he had undertaken, and returned to England laden with Spanish spoil, but apparently without having killed a single Spaniard.

We cannot but feel that, whatever may have been of a rather doubtful character in some of his proceedings, the honours conferred on Sir Francis Drake by our great Queen Elizabeth were thoroughly well deserved.

Among these may be mentioned the grant of a special coat of arms in 1581, which is thus recorded by Guillim:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Rev. W. B. Lach Szyrma, in *Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, vol. xxxix. p. 168.

<sup>17</sup> *N. and Q.*, VII. Ser. vol. iv. p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> *A Display of Heraldrie, etc.*, 4th ed., 1660, p. 107.



"The *Field* is *Diamond* (= *sable*), a *Fesse* *wavey* between the *two Pole Stars*, *Arctick* and *Antarctick*, *Pearle* (= *argent*). Such was the worth of this most generous and renowned Knight, Sir *Francis Drake*, sometime of *Plimmouth*, as that his merits do require that his Coat-Armour should be expressed in that selected manner of *Blazoning*, that is fitting to noble personages in respect of his noble courage and high attempts atchieved, whereby he merited to be reckoned the honour of our *Nation* and of *Navall* profession, in as much as he, cutting through the *Magellanike Straits An. Dom.* 1577, within the compasse of three years he encompassed the whole World; whereof his *ship* laid up in a *Dock* near *Detford* will long time remain as a most worthy monument. Of these his travels a *Poet* hath thus sung—

" *Drake, pererrati novit quem terminus orbis,  
Quemque semel Mundi vidit uterque Polus ;  
Si taceant homines facient te Sydera notum :  
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.*

' *The worlds survaied bounds, brave Drake, on thee did gaze.  
Both North and Southern Poles, have seen thy manly face ;  
If thanklesse men conceal, thy praise the Stars will blaze :  
The Sun his fellow-travellers worth will duly grace.*' "

Similar arms, but with the tinctures altered, were granted to Admiral van Noorth,<sup>19</sup> the first Dutch navigator who passed through the Straits of Magellan, which the fesse in the escutcheon is presumed to symbolize. It is, however, to be regretted that astronomers and heralds are not at one as to the existence of an Antarctic Polar Star.

JOHN EVANS.

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<sup>19</sup> *N. and Q.*, V. Ser. vol. iii. p. 130.

or Pamphylia; and Babelon classed the coins of Atratinus to Panormus; those of Bibulus to the East, perhaps in Greece or Asia Minor; and those of Oppius to Sicily. Holm appears to have been in favour of Sicily, for some of the coins, and Caland the East. Bahrfeldt takes an independent view, and as he has been unable to ascertain that any of these coins are found in Sicily, or even exist there in any of the more important collections, or in Italy, he has come to the conclusion that, as Antony's fleet was in Sicilian waters during 37-35 B.C., these coins must have been struck on board the ships, and in that way he would account for their rarity, and no doubt also for their rude fabric and defective striking. In what manner these coins could have served for the use of the fleet if they were not to be circulated on shore, we do not see; and their absence in Sicily clearly shows that they were not current in the island. This suggestion of Oberst Bahrfeldt rather reminds us of the so-called Spanish-American "ship-dollars," which, being also of rude design and execution, were at one time supposed to have been struck under similar conditions on Spanish ships. Oberst Bahrfeldt discusses at length the various views of numismatists as to the standard of weight of these coins of Antony, and he arrives at the conclusion that two were used, viz. a quarter-ounce standard for the heavier pieces, and an eighth-ounce standard for the lighter ones. The metal in which they were struck was of a mixed nature, being composed roughly of about two-thirds copper and one-third zinc. This mixed metal was known to the ancients as *orichalcum*, or golden bronze, and was used for the local money current at this period in Asia Minor. As shown by the later coinages of Augustus, it had a higher current value than pure copper; the as of pure copper being equal in weight to the dupondius of *orichalcum*. It seems, therefore, that after all, though of light weight, these naval coins of Antony were based on a half-ounce pure copper standard. In preparing the necessary material for his treatise, Oberst Bahrfeldt has taken infinite pains and trouble, and has made notes of no less than 179 pieces in the more important public and private collections in Europe. Of all these he gives the weights and localities, and this information will be invaluable to others who may be inclined to turn their attention to unravelling the difficulties which this series of coins presents.

H. G.

## VII.

### ROMAN MEDALLIONS IN THE HUNTERIAN COLLECTION.

(See Plates VIII.-XI.)

It is close upon a century since Dr. William Hunter's collection of Roman medallions passed into the possession of the University of Glasgow. Compared with the great national collections of to-day, it is not remarkable for its size. But it is fairly representative, and the proportion of unpublished types and varieties is unusually large. A complete list of its contents will therefore be of interest.

In its general plan, the following catalogue adheres to the lines laid down more than thirty years ago by Mr. Grueber, in his *Roman Medallions in the British Museum*. The few points of difference can most conveniently be noted now. An asterisk affixed to a number indicates that the piece to be described is not included in the second edition of Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*. Again, it seemed just worth while to put the weights on record. The third innovation is more important. The arrows that precede the statement of weight show the direction in which obverse and reverse dies have lain during the process of striking. Lastly, the description of the obverse is given in somewhat greater detail. In the case of undated medallions, minute differences in obverse type or legend may conceivably furnish a useful clue to

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classification. Except where otherwise stated, the inscriptions run round the margin of the medallions, beginning on the left and reading upwards.

### HADRIAN.

- 1.\*—IMPCAESARTRAIAN HADRIANVSAVG Bust of Hadrian r., laur., wearing cuirass; chest shown, with paludamentum fastened across it.
- R.—Genius of the people of Rome, standing l., naked to waist, holding in r. a patera over portable altar, which is lighted; cornucopiae in l. hand and drapery over l. arm; around, GENIVSPO PVLIROMANI.
- Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 48·72 grammes.

This medallion is enclosed within a broad rim. To judge by the form of the inscription, it is earlier than No. 2, which bears the title *Pater Patriae*, officially accepted by Hadrian in 128 A.D.

- 2.—IMPCAESARHADRI ANVSAVGCOSIIPP Head of Hadrian r., laur.; paludamentum visible on l. shoulder.
- R.—The Emperor on horseback, in military dress, cantering r., with spear couched; behind, a second horseman, similarly armed; in front, a foot-soldier, carrying spear over shoulder.
- Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 39·39 grammes.

### ANTONINUS PIUS.

- 1.\*—IMP·T·AEL·CAES·HADRI ANT[ONINVS·AVG·PIVS]  
Bust of Antoninus Pius r., laur., wearing cuirass; chest shown, with paludamentum fastened across it.
- R.—[TR·POT] (on l., upwards) COSIIPP (on r., downwards). Diana as Huntress, standing r., holding bow in extended l., and with r. plucking arrow from quiver; at her feet, l. and r., a hound.
- Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 47·3 grammes. [Pl. VIII. 1.]

The inscription on this medallion has been completed by comparison with a companion piece, bearing a figure of Apollo, which is illustrated in B. M. C., Pl. viii. 1. Both belong to the year 139 A.D., and the obverse types are similar.

2.\*—ANTONINVS AVG PIVSPPTRPCOSIII Head of Antoninus Pius l., laur.; one end of wreath falls forward over neck.

R.—The Dioscuri, wearing pilei, standing to front, side by side; each holds spear upright with inner hand, and grasps with outer hand the bridle of his horse, which stands to front, raising outer forefoot.

Æ. 1.5. ↑↑ Wt. 39.98 grammes.

[Pl. VIII. 2.]

No. 2, which was struck between 140 and 144 A.D., is shown by its obverse type and legend to belong to the same group as Cohen, 2nd ed., ii. p. 380, No. 1134, and p. 384, No. 1144,—two pieces which are also without a legend on the reverse.

3.\*—ANTONINVS AVG PIVSPIMPPI Bust of Antoninus Pius r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—TRPOTXX (on l., upwards) COSIIII (on r., downwards); Jupiter, naked to waist, seated l. on throne with back, holding Victory (?) in extended r., and leaning with l. on arm of throne; beside throne, eagle l., with wings closed.

Æ. 1.55. ↑↑ Wt. 56.88 grammes.

[Pl. VIII. 3.]

No. 3 belongs to the year 157 A.D. Cohen (2nd ed., ii. p. 366 f., Nos. 1004 f.) describes two medallions of the same year, but with a different obverse type, both of which have Jupiter as the subject of the reverse. In the one case he is standing, in the other he is in a chariot.

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4.\*—ANTONINVS AVG PI VSPTRPXXII Bust of Antoninus Pius r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—COSIII (in ex.). The Emperor in sacrificial garb, standing l.; he grasps scroll in l., and with r. holds patera over tripod; behind him, in processional order, but still moving r., there follow an attendant with r. hand thrust into the bosom of his toga, a tibicen playing the double flute, and a soldier with spear; facing him, beyond the tripod, is a camillus, with patera in lowered l.; behind the camillus stands a popa, with his garment girt about his waist, swinging with both hands a double-axe with which he is about to fell a bull; around, VOT SOLVTA DEC II.

Æ. 1·7. ↑↑ Wt. 72·51 grammes.

[Pl. VIII. 4.]

No. 4 was struck in the year 159 A.D. The subject of the reverse is by no means novel. But the treatment here is of interest. It disproves Cohen's rule (2nd ed., ii. p. 377, footnote) as to the different ways of representing *Vota suscepta* and *Vota soluta* respectively.

5.\*—ANTONINVS AVG PIVSPP - - - Bust of Antoninus Pius r., wearing cuirass and paludamentum; head bare.

R.—Hercules, naked but for lion's skin over l. shoulder, standing r., with r. arm extended at full length; at his feet, a dolium; behind him, a tree.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 34·92 grammes.

[Pl. IX. 1.]

The imperfect inscription makes it impossible to date No. 5. The type of the reverse, too, is somewhat doubtful. The obscure marks in the field, right, may be meant to indicate water rushing from a rock. In that case the subject is probably the cleansing of the Augean stables.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the representation on a large bronze coin of Alexandria in the Dattari Collection (*Catalogo*, Pl. xv. No. 2606). The coin was struck in the tenth (Alexandrian) year of Antoninus Pius.

On the other hand, the presence of the tree would rather suggest the Garden of the Hesperides.

M. AURELIUS.

1.—MANTONINVS AVGTRPXXVII Bust of M. Aurelius r., laur., wearing cuirass, displaying Gorgon's head on chest; paludamentum over shoulders.

R.—IMPVI (on l., upwards) COSIII (on r., downwards). Trophy, at foot of which are seated two captives—a man looking r. and a woman looking l.; on l. of trophy stands Victory r., holding palm in l., and with r. tracing inscription on shield that forms part of trophy; on the other side is the Emperor, facing slightly towards l., extending r. hand and holding spear in l.; in ex.,  
GERMANIA  
SVBACTA

Æ. 1.45. ↑↑ Wt. 39.59 grammes.

[R = B. M. C., Pl. xxii. 2.]

2.—Similar.

R.— . . . III (from l., upwards). Victory driving quadriga slowly l., and looking back, as if for some one to follow; in ex., VICT · GERM.

Æ. 1.5. ↑↑ Wt. 45.58 grammes.

[R = B. M. C., Pl. xxii. 3.]

Both of the preceding were struck in 173 A.D. The reverse types allude to the notable victories gained in this and the previous year by the armies on the Danube, under the Emperor's personal command, victories which led him to assume the title of 'Germanicus.'

3.\*—MANTONINVS AVGTRPXXVII Bust of M. Aurelius l., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum; a large part of the back is shown, and the l. hand is visible in front, as well as upper part of spear held in r.

R.—IMPVICOSIII (above). The Emperor, in military dress, holding spear in r., and carrying trophy over l. shoulder, advancing r. towards a triumphal arch, which is surmounted by a quadriga of elephants; in front of him walk two soldiers side by side, the one in the foreground carrying an aquila, the one in the background a signum; behind him is Victory placing a wreath upon his head; behind Victory, a lighted altar; in background, a temple and lines suggesting a porticus; in ex., ADVENTVSAVG.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 47·03 grammes.

[Pl. IX. 2.]

Some historical interest attaches to No. 3. It belongs to the same year as Nos. 1 and 2, but probably not to the same part of the year. A precisely similar reverse is published by Cohen (2nd ed., iii. p. 4, No. 3), associated with an obverse bearing date TRPXXVIII. Discussing this latter medallion, von Rohden<sup>2</sup> thinks it unlikely that Marcus took time to visit Rome during the busy year 174 A.D. He therefore inclines to look on the picture of the Emperor's arrival as an ideal one—the expression of an aspiration, not the representation of an actual event. Our No. 3 may help here. It is a reasonable supposition that the two medallions were struck contemporaneously, or very nearly so. This could only have happened in December, 173 A.D.; for it was, of course, on December 10 that each fresh lease of the *tribunicia potestas* began to run. It would follow that the Emperor may quite well have paid a brief visit to the capital immediately before the opening of the winter campaign so strikingly terminated by the memorable battle fought on the ice of the frozen Danube.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, i. p. 2299. But see Stuart Jones, *Brit. Sch. at Rome*, iii. pp. 259 ff., where there is an interesting analysis of the type.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius, lxxi. 7.



4.—MANTONINVS AVGTRPXXIX Bust of M. Aurelius r., laur., wearing cuirass, displaying Gorgon's head on chest; paludamentum over shoulders.

R.—IMP VII COS III Victory seated r. on pile of shields; she holds palm in r., and with l. supports upon her knee an oblong shield inscribed <sup>VIC</sup>AVG; in front of her, a trophy.

Æ. 1.5. ↑↓<sup>4</sup> Wt. 25.72 grammes.

No. 4 belongs to the year 175 A.D., and the reverse type probably alludes to the victories in virtue of which Marcus assumed the title of 'Sarmaticus.'

5.\*—MANTONINVS AVG GERMSARMTRPXXXI Bust of M. Aurelius r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—IMP VIII (on l., upwards) COS III (on r., downwards) PP (in ex.). Similar type.

Æ. 1.45. ↑↑ Wt. 48.6 grammes. [Pl. IX. 3.]

No. 5 is two years later than No. 4. A similar reverse type was employed on a medallion of the intervening year (Cohen, 2nd ed., iii. p. 35, No. 356).<sup>5</sup>

#### M. AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS.

1.\*—IMPANTONINVS COS III IMP VERVS COS II (from l., upwards). Busts, laur., face to face, of M. Aurelius r. and of L. Verus l., each wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—Marcus Aurelius, in military dress, advancing r. and grasping the r. hand of Verus, who stands l. in

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<sup>4</sup> I have some doubts as to the genuineness of No. 4. A similar medallion in the Bibliothèque Nationale, however, shows the same peculiarity in the position of the dies,—very unusual at this period, though common later.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. what is said regarding No. 3, *supra*. Were these medallions also struck in December?

similar garb; behind Marcus, three companion figures are visible, dressed like himself; behind Verus there are two, wearing cloaks and helmets; above the clasped r. hands hovers a small figure of Victory r., holding wreath and palm; beneath them, on the ground, a female captive seated r., her head buried in her hands; in ex., VICTORIAAVGG.

Æ. 1·7. ↑↓<sup>6</sup> Wt. 97·45 grammes. [Pl. IX. 4.]

This medallion is datable only by the limits of the second consulship of Verus (161–166 A.D.). It obviously alludes to some of the incidents of his campaigns in the Far East, possibly to his return in 166. It is distinguished by its size and also by its rounded edges.

#### L. VERUS.

1.—LVERVSAVG ARMPARTHMAX Bust of L. Verus l., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum over shoulders; chest shown.

R.—TRPVII IMPIIII (in ex.). M. Aurelius and L. Verus in COSIII triumphal quadriga l., each holding branch and sceptre; in front Roma, with shield and vexillum, driving before her a captive king, wearing tiara; in the background, supported by four soldiers, a trophy, at foot of which are two male captives seated, back to back, with hands tied behind them; on front of quadriga, reliefs.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 38·94 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. xxv. 2.]

The date is 167 A.D., and the reverse type obviously alludes to the triumph jointly celebrated in the latter part of 166.

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<sup>6</sup> The British Museum possesses a medallion (in lead) with the heads of Marcus and Verus, the dies of which are also in this abnormal position. The reverse type is Victory (Coh., 2nd ed., iii. p. 130, No. 3).

2.—LVERVSAVGARM PARTHMAXTRPVIII Bust of L. Verus r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum; back shown.

R.—COSIII (in ex.). Roma, draped and helmeted, seated l. on cuirass, her feet upon a footstool; she is presenting olive-branch (?) to Emperor, who stands facing her, helmeted and in military dress, grasping spear in l.; on extreme r., Victory l., holding palm in l., and crowning Roma with r.

Æ. 1.6. ↑↑ Wt. 47.49 grammes.

3.—LVERVSAVGARM PARTHMAX Bust of L. Verus l., laur., with paludamentum fastened across chest.

R.—TR · P · VIIIIMPIII (in ex.). Jupiter, naked to waist, seated r. on rocks, leaning with r. on sceptre, and with l. receiving small Victory from Verus, who stands l., in military dress, holding parazonium in l.; on extreme r., Roma l., helmeted, holding spear in l., and crowning Verus with r.

Æ. 1.6. ↑↑ Wt. 40.88 grammes.

No. 2 belongs to 169 A.D. No. 3 is too much tooled to be worth serious discussion.

### LUCILLA.

1.—LVCILLAEAVG ANTONINIAVGF (from l., upwards). Bust of Lucilla r., draped; hair waved, and gathered into a knot behind.

R.—Round temple, four columns of which are shown, with decorated capitals; the outer wall of the cella is indicated by diagonal lines, and through its door is visible the statue of a goddess; in foreground, a garlanded altar, lighted, on either side of which stand three veiled women; the foremost woman on the l. grasps a simpulum in outstretched r.; the foremost on the r. holds, with r., patera over altar, and has acerra in l.

Æ. 1.55. ↑↑ Wt. 42.63 grammes.

[R = Pl. X. 1.]

2. Same dies as No. 1.

Æ. 1.6. ↑↑ Wt. 42.63 grammes.

The agreement in weight between these two specimens is remarkably close. It seemed desirable to reproduce the reverse of No. 1. Its condition is such as to make clear one or two details that have hitherto escaped notice, particularly the simpulum in the hand of the woman on the left. This is usually lost in the pillar behind it.

# COMMODUS.

1.—IMPCAESLAVRELCOM MODVSGERMSARM Youthful bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing aegis, which leaves r. shoulder bare.

R.—TRPOTCOS (in ex.). M. Aurelius and Commodus in triumphal quadriga l., each holding laurel branch; in front Roma, looking back, helmeted and carrying spear; in field above, Victory flying l. with trophy and palm; on front of quadriga, reliefs.

Æ. 1-6. ↑↑ Wt. 50·28 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. xxvii. 2.]

No. 1 was struck between January 1 and December 9, 177 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Commodus and his father celebrated a joint triumph, probably in the end of the preceding year, and it is to this that the reverse type alludes. (Cf. No. 1 of L. Verus, *supra*.)

2.—LAVRELCOMMODOVSAVG GERMSARMTRPIII Youthful bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

R.—IMPII COSPP The Emperor standing l., in sacrificial garb; he grasps scroll in l., and with r. holds patera over tripod; behind him are grouped four priests, standing to front, above whose heads are visible the tops of two poles with insignia; towards these there advance in processional order from l. a tibicen playing the double-flute, and a soldier with spear; facing the Emperor, beyond the tripod, is

<sup>7</sup> See von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, ii. pp. 2467 f.

a camillus, with patera in lowered l.; behind the camillus, a popa in the act of felling a bull with an axe; in the background, a hexastyle Corinthian temple, with sculptures in the pediment, on its apex and at its angles; in ex., VOTA PVBLICA.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 41·26 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. xxvii. 3.]

No. 2 belongs to the year 178 A.D.

3.—Similar to No. 2, but with TRPIII.

R.—IMPII (on l., upwards) COSIIPP (on r., downwards).

Female figure, draped, standing r. beneath tree, her l. leg crossed in front of her r.; she leans with r. on table, with a vase in front of her, and with l. feeds a serpent twined round a figure of Salus which stands on the table; lying beside the vase is a festoon of laurel which falls over and is caught on cross-bar of table; perched on cross-bar, a raven l.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 50·86 grammes.

No. 3 is dated a year later than No. 2. But the close resemblance between the obverses suggests that the two were struck within a shorter period of each other.

4.\*—M · AVREL · ANTONINVS COMMODVS · AVG Bust of Commodus r., laur.; paludamentum visible over l. shoulder.

R.—TRPVIIMPIIIICOSIIPP Commodus, wrapped in toga, standing l., extending in r. hand patera over tripod; behind him, three male figures, only one of whom is fully seen; behind these, a small column; on other side of tripod, figure of a divinity standing r., leaning with l. on long branch, and holding pedom in r.; beside him a low pillar or altar, on which he leans with r. arm; in the background two trees, one springing from each side, and both bending inwards so as to form an arch above the whole

group; in ex., PROVIDENTIAE  
DEORVM

Æ. 1·45. ↑↑ Wt. 45·36 grammes. [Pl. X. 3.]

Cohen (2nd ed., iii. p. 314, No. 641) cites from Vaillant an imperfect description, which undoubtedly refers to this medallion. Vaillant does not indicate where the specimen he speaks of is to be found. The remarkable form of the obverse inscription has no analogy (so far as I have noted) on Roman money proper; on coins of this period it is usual to place *COMMODVS* before *ANTONINVS*. It is unfortunate that the details of the reverse type are so obscure. The Emperor, with three companions, is sacrificing in a grove to some divinity. This much is certain. It is possible that the divinity is *Silvanus*. But it is difficult to be quite confident about his dress and his attributes. Even the sex is not altogether certain. The date is 182 A.D.

5.—*M · AVREL · COMMODVS ANTONINVS · AVG* Bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum; back shown.

R.—*TRPVIII IM PV COSIIIP P* Virtus, helmeted and draped, seated l. on cuirass, looking back; she holds spear in raised r. and parazonium in l.; l. arm rests on shield blazoned with Wolf and Twins; in front, trophy; in ex., *VIRTVTI · AVG*.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 41·99 grammes.

The date here is 183 A.D.

6.—*MCOMMODVSANTO NINVS AVGPIVS FELIX* Bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—*PMTRPXIMPVVICOSIIIPP* Britannia, wearing tunic, mantle and braccæ, seated l. on rock, holding standard in r. and spear in l.; l. arm rests on shield which stands on ground beside her; on l., upwards, *BRITANNIA*

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 48·92 grammes.

[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. xxix. 2.]

Trouble was afoot in Britain about this time. In 184 A.D. the Emperor had assumed the title 'Britannicus,' and the reverse type of No. 6, which belongs to 185 A.D., alludes to events in the island. The edges are much hammered.

7.—M · COMMODVS · ANTONI NVS · AVG · PIVS · BRIT Bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum ; plates of cuirass visible on back.

R.—PMTRPX IMPVII COSIIIPP The Emperor, in military dress, standing l., his r. foot on a helmet ; he holds in r. a globe surmounted by small Victory, and leans with l. on inverted spear.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 58·7 grammes.

This bears the same date as the preceding.

8.—MCOMMODVSANTO NINVS AVGPIVSBRIT Bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing cuirass ; paludamentum fastened across chest.

R.—P · M · TR · P - - - Type similar to No. 2, but only two priests in group behind the Emperor ; no poles with insignia ; in ex., VOTAPVBLICA.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 57·93 grammes.

Though the exact date is doubtful, 185 A.D. is the most probable year for No. 8. It seems to be cast.

9.—M · COMMODVS · ANTONIN VS · PIVS · FELIX · AVG · BRIT Bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing cuirass ; paludamentum over shoulders ; chest shown.

R.—P · M · TR · P · XI · IM P · VII · COS · V · P · P The Emperor, in military dress, standing l. on suggestum ; he holds spear in l., and stretches out r. in act of addressing eight soldiers ranged in front of him in two files ; the soldiers in the nearer file carry shields ; the second in the further file holds a vexillum ; behind Emperor stand two soldiers, helmeted l., one on suggestum and one on ground, each holding a standard in l. ; in ex., FIDES · EXERCIT.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 54·3 grammes.

No. 9 is struck in two metals. The date is 186 A.D., and the reverse type is probably connected with the suppression of a mutiny in Britain by Pertinax, the future Emperor.

10.— - - NV SPIVSFELIXAVGBRIT Bust of Commodus l., laur., wearing aegis, which falls down so as to leave upper part of back and l. shoulder bare; spear grasped in r.

R.—P · M · TRPXI IMPV II (around) COS · V · P · P · (in ex.). The Emperor in triumphal quadriga r., extending r. hand, and holding in l. a sceptre surmounted by eagle; on front of quadriga, reliefs.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 58·92 grammes.

[*Obv.* = B. M. C., Pl. xxxi. 3, and R = Pl. X. 2.]

No. 10, also in two metals, belongs to the same year as No. 9. The reverse is figured here as serving to complete the legend, partly obliterated on the B. M. specimen.

11.—M · COMMODVS · ANTONINVS PIVS · FELIX · AVG · BRIT Bust of Commodus r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum; back shown.

R.—PMTRPXIIIMPVIICOSV P P Tellus, recumbent l., with lower part of person draped; l. arm rests on basket of fruit, and l. hand holds long vine-branch with grapes; r. hand is laid on globe, studded with stars, over which move four small figures, representing the seasons; in ex., TELLVSSTABIL

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 56·31 grammes.

No. 11 was struck in 187 A.D. The reverse is similar to B. M. C., Pl. xxxii. 1, although the die is different. The details are obscure, but the foremost of the seasons seems to hold a cornucopieae. The medallion is in two metals.



12.—Similar.

R.—MINER · VICT · P · M · TR · P X IIII · IMP · VIII ·  
(around) COSV · P · P (in ex.). Minerva, draped,  
and wearing crested helmet and aegis, standing l.;  
she holds in extended r. small Victory r., and leans  
with l. on inverted spear; beyond her, her shield  
standing upright on the ground; behind her, trophy,  
at foot of which, two shields.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 57·21 grammes.  
[For R, cf. B. M. C., Pl. xxxiii. 2.]

The date here is 188 A.D.

13.\*—M · COMMODVS · ANTONINVS PIVS · FELIX · AVG ·  
BRIT. Bust of Commodus l., laur., wearing  
cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest,  
which is shown.

R.—C V P P (in ex.). The Emperor, in sacrificial garb,  
standing r., extending with r. hand patera over  
tripod; beyond tripod, Fortuna l., draped, leaning  
with r. on rudder and holding on l. arm cornu-  
copiae and gathered drapery; around, FORTVNAE  
DVCI

Æ. 1·65. ↑↑ Wt. 72·25 grammes.

No. 13 was struck between 186 and 189 A.D. The  
close resemblance in obverse type and in weight between  
it and No. 14 makes the last-named year the most  
probable.

14.—M · COMMODVS · ANTONINVS PIVS · F[ELIX · AVG ·  
B]RIT Type similar to No. 13, but rather more of  
body shown.

R.—FORT · FEL[· P · M · T]RP XIII · IMPVIICOSVPP  
Fortuna standing l., draped, with r. foot on prow;  
she holds caduceus in raised r., and cornucopiae and  
gathered drapery on l. arm.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 66·29 grammes.

No. 14 belongs to 189 A.D.

15.—L · AELIVS · AVRELIVS · COMMODVS · AVG · PIVS · FELIX  
Head of Commodus as Hercules l., wearing lion's skin.

R.—HERC · ROM · CONDITORI · P MTR[PXVIII] (around)  
COS VII · P · P (in ex.). The Emperor, as Hercules,  
ploughing out the *primigenius sulcus* with team of  
oxen l. ; he wears lion's skin, and grasps club in l.,  
while his r. guides the plough.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 66·22 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. xxxv. 2.]

The sides of this piece are hammered to an excep-  
tional extent. Like No. 16, it belongs to 192 A.D.

16.—L · AELIVS · AVRELIVS · COMMODVS · AVG · PIVS ·  
FELIX Similar type r.

R.—[HERC ROM]CONDITORIPMT RPXVIII (around) COS ·  
VII · P · P · (in ex.). Similar type.

Æ. 1·55. ↑↑ Wt. 69·07 grammes.

No. 16 is struck in two metals.

### SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

1.—L · SEPTIMIVS · SEVERVS PERTINAX · AVG · IMP VII Bust  
of Septimius Severus r., laur., wearing cuirass, dis-  
playing Gorgon's head on chest; paludamentum  
over shoulders.

R — DIVI · M · PII · F PMTRP IIII · COS II · PP Roma  
helmeted and wearing short tunic, standing l., hold-  
ing parazonium in extended r., and leaning with l.  
on spear, against which her shield rests.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 63·24 grammes.

This medallion is of the year 196 A.D.

JULIA DOMNA.

1.—IVLIA · DOM NA · AVGVSTA Bust of Julia Domna r., draped; hair waved, and gathered in flat bunch behind.

R.—The Empress, as Fecunditas, draped and wearing stephane, seated r. on throne, with Geta at her breast; at her feet, the young Caracalla standing l., wearing toga praetexta; around, FEC[VN] DITA [TIAVG].

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 56·37 grammes.  
[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. xxxvii. 4.]

MACRINUS AND DIADUMENIANUS.

1.\*—IMPCAESMOPELSEVMACRINVS AVG Bust of Macrinus r., laur., wearing cuirass displaying Gorgon's head on chest; paludamentum over shoulders; in l., which is visible, he carries spear.

R.—MOPELANTONINVS DIADVMENIANVS CAES Bust of Diadumenianus r., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown; head bare.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↓ Wt. 49·63 grammes. [Pl. X. 4.]

This very interesting piece is struck in two metals, the outer being of a lighter colour.

DIADUMENIANUS.

1.\*—MOPELANTDIADVMENIANVS CAES Bust of Diadumenianus r., bare-headed, wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—Diadumenianus, in military dress, standing to front, head r.; he holds in l. a sceptre, and in r. a signum, surmounted by wreath; behind, aquila and signum with wreath; around, PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↓ Wt. 49·31 grammes. [Pl. X. 5.]

The size and weight of this piece, no less than the  
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absence of the letters S C, clearly differentiate it from the 'large brass' of similar types.

### SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

1.—[IMPCAESMAVRELSEVALEX] ANDERPIVSFELIXAVG  
Bust of Severus Alexander r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—Jupiter, laur. and naked to waist, seated l. on throne with back, handing globe to the Emperor, who stands r. in military dress, leaning with l. on spear; in the background, two soldiers with spears; around, [PERPE TVITAS]IMP AVG.

Æ. 1.2. ↑↓ Wt. 35.96 grammes.

The small size, light weight, and general appearance of this piece suggest that it may be merely the centre of what has originally been a medallion struck in two metals, the edges having been hammered after it became detached. (Cf. Cohen, 2nd ed., iv. p. 421, No. 190.)

### GORDIAN III.

1.\*—IMPCAESMANTGORDIANVSAVG Bust of Gordian III l., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown; r. hand visible, supporting globe, on which is small Victory r.

R.—PONTIFEXMAXTRP (around) COSDES<sup>8</sup> (in ex.). The Emperor laur. and wearing paludamentum, standing in triumphal quadriga l.; he holds r. outstretched, and carries in l. a long sceptre surmounted by eagle.

Æ. 1.45. ↑↑ Wt. 42.96 grammes.

[Pl. XI. 1.]

No. 1, which can be dated to the year 238 A.D., is perhaps the original of the cast mentioned by Cohen (2nd

<sup>8</sup> The last three letters are obscure, but (I think) fairly certain.

ed., v. p. 51, footnote). It is earlier than any medallion of Gordian yet published.

2.—IMPCAESMANTGORDIANVSAVG Bust of Gordian III  
r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened  
across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor, laur. and wearing military dress,  
advancing slowly l. on horseback, raising r. and  
holding sceptre in l.; he is preceded by Victory,  
holding wreath and palm, and by a soldier with  
signum; behind walk three soldiers, of whom one,  
in the foreground, helmeted, has spear and shield,  
while, of the two in the background, the foremost  
holds aquila in r., the hindmost, vexillum in l.;  
around, VIC TORIAAVGV STI.

Æ. 1·55. ↑↑ Wt. 54·04 grammes.

No. 2 is struck in two metals.

3.—IMPGORDIANVS PIVSFELIXAVG Bust of Gordian III  
r., laur., wearing cuirass, displaying Gorgon's head  
on chest; paludamentum over shoulders.

R.—The Emperor, laur. and in military dress, standing r.  
on suggestum, with prefect behind him; he stretches  
out r. to address a group of soldiers, who stand  
l.; group consists of two legionaries in the fore-  
ground, and two auxiliaries in the background;  
each legionary has shield, with boss, on l. arm, and  
the foremost has signum, surmounted by wreath,  
in r., while the hindmost has aquila in r. and spear  
resting on r. arm; of the two auxiliaries, one holds  
a spear, the other a vexillum over l. shoulder;  
around, ADLOCVTIOAVGVVS TI.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 68·49 grammes.

[For R, cf. B. M. C., Pl. xli. 6.]

No. 3 is struck in two metals.

4.—IMPGORDIANVSPIVSFELIXAVG Bust of Gordian III  
l., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum; back  
shown.

R.—Trireme moving r. over waves, amidst which dolphins are seen ; in the stern, beneath aplustre formed like head of elephant, is seated the Emperor r., leaning upon sceptre ; the heads of six oarsmen are visible ; a soldier stands in prow r., holding spear and shield ; three other soldiers stand on deck ; of these the one next the Emperor grasps vexillum with both hands, the second holds signum with wreath, the third has aquila in r. and shield on l. arm ; the one in the centre looks to front ; the other two have heads l. ; around, TR AIECTVSAVG.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 63·04 grammes.

[*Obv.* = B. M. C., Pl. xlii, 3 ; R = B. M. C., Pl. xlii, 2.]

No. 4 is struck in two metals. The type refers to the crossing of the Hellespont in 242 A.D., when Gordian opened his great campaign against the Persians.

5.—Similar to No. 4 ; but type r., and chest shown, with paludamentum fastened across it.

R.—Similar type.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 50·67 grammes.

#### OTACILIA SEVERA.

1.—MARCIAOTACIL SEVERAAVG Bust of Otacilia Severa l., draped and wearing staphane ; hair waved, and brought up over back of head in plait.

R.—The Empress, as Pudicitia, seated l. on throne with back ; she holds sceptre in l., and with r. draws veil over face ; behind stands Felicitas l., draped, holding caduceus and cornucopiae ; in front, two children, standing r., the foremost holding out hands towards Empress ; around, P VDICITIAAVG.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 70·3 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. xliii, 1.]

This medallion is struck in two metals.

PHILIP I, OTACILIA SEVERA, AND PHILIP II.

1.—Busts, jugate, r. of Philip I, laur. and wearing cuirass and paludamentum, and of Otacilia, draped and wearing stephane; facing them, bust of Philip II l., bare-headed, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; around, CONCORDIAAVGVSTORVM.

R.—P ONTIFEXMAXTRP IIII (around) COSIIPP (in ex.). Triumphal quadriga advancing to front; in it stand the two Emperors l.; Philip I holds branch, and is being crowned from behind by Victory; Philip II, on his father's r., extends r. hand; on l. and r. walk Roma and Mars, conducting the horses; Roma, draped and helmeted, carries spear and palm; Mars, in full armour, carries palm in r. and shield and spear in l.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 69·33 grammes.  
[B. M. C., Pl. xlv. 1.]

No. 1 is struck in two metals. It belongs to the year 247 A.D.

2.—Similar.

R.—Two Victories standing face to face, supporting between them a round shield inscribed VOTIS; around, VICTORIAEAVGVSTORVM.

Æ. 1·65. ↑↑ Wt. 60·26 grammes.

No. 2 is also struck in two metals.

OTACILIA SEVERA, PHILIP I, AND PHILIP II.

1.—MARCIAOTACI[L] SEVERA AVG Bust of Otacilia Severa r., draped and wearing stephane; hair waved, and brought up over back of head in plait.

R.—IIITICOS (beneath, in small letters). Busts, face to face, laur., of Philip I r. and Philip II l., each wearing paludamentum and cuirass; around, PIETAS AVGVSTORVM.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 27·54 grammes.  
[B. M. C., Pl. xlv. 1.]

## PHILIP II.

1.—IMPCAESMIVLPHILIPVSAVG Bust of Philip II r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The two Emperors, in sacrificial garb, standing face to face, each holding patera over garlanded altar; behind each, two attendants; behind altar, tibicen standing to front, playing double-flute; in background, octastyle temple, with sculptures in pediment, at angles, and on apex; around, SÆCVLVM NOVVM.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 45 grammes.

[R = B. M. C., Pl. xlv. 3.]

This piece belongs to the year 248 A.D.

TRAJANUS DECIUS.<sup>9</sup>

1.—IMPCMQTRAIANVSDECIVSAVG Bust of Trajanus Decius r., radiate, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; back shown.

R.—Felicitas, draped, standing to front, head l., leaning with r. on long caduceus, and holding cornucopiæ and gathered drapery in l.; around, FELICITAS SÆCVLI; in field, S C.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 49·76 grammes.

2.—Similar.

R.—Similar.

Æ. 1·55. ↑↑ Wt. 47·30 grammes.

3.—Similar; but chest shown, displaying cuirass.

R.—Similar.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 30·9 grammes.

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<sup>9</sup> In spite of the presence of the letters S C, I have followed Cohen in classing the largest bronze pieces of Trajanus Decius (and of Etruscilla) as 'medallions.' See particularly Nos. 4 and 6, which are plated.



4.—Similar to Nos. 1 f.

R.—Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm ;  
around, VICT ORIAAVG ; in field, S C.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↑ Wt. 49·43 grammes.

No. 4 is plated.

5.—Similar to No. 3.

R.—Similar to No. 4.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 44·9 grammes.

6.—Similar.

R.—Similar.

Æ. 1·35. ↑↑ Wt. 32·46 grammes.

No. 6 is plated.

#### HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA.

1.—HERENNIAETRVSCILLA AVG Bust of Herennia Etrus-  
cilla r., draped and wearing stephane ; hair brought  
up in plait over back of head ; behind, crescent.

R.—The Empress, as Pudicitia, draped, seated l. on throne  
with back, her feet upon a footstool ; she holds  
sceptre in l., and with r. draws veil over her face ;  
around, PVDICITIA AVG ; in ex., S C.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 34·6 grammes.

#### VOLUSIAN.

1.—IMPCAECVIBVOLVSIANO AVG Bust of Volusian r.,  
laur., wearing cuirass ; paludamentum fastened  
across chest, which is shown.

R.—The three Monetæ, draped, standing side by side,  
three-quarter face towards l. ; each holds scales  
and cornucopiae ; on ground to l. of each, a conical  
pile of money ; around, MONETAA VGG.

Bill. 1·35. ↑↑ Wt. 26·24 grammes.

## PHILIP II.

1.—IMPCAESMIVLPHILIPVSAVG Bust of Philip II r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The two Emperors, in sacrificial garb, standing face to face, each holding patera over garlanded altar; behind each, two attendants; behind altar, tibicen standing to front, playing double-flute; in background, octastyle temple, with sculptures in pediment, at angles, and on apex; around, SAECVLVM NOVVM.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 45 grammes.

[R = B. M. C., Pl. xlv. 3.]

This piece belongs to the year 248 A.D.

## TRAJANUS DECIUS.\*

1.—IMPCMQTRAIANVSDECIVSAVG Bust of Trajanus Decius r., radiate, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; back shown.

R.—Felicitas, draped, standing to front, head l., leaning with r. on long caduceus, and holding cornucopiae and gathered drapery in l.; around, FELICITAS SAECVLI; in field, S C.

Æ. 1·6. ↑↑ Wt. 49·76 grammes.

2.—Similar.

R.—Similar.

Æ. 1·55. ↑↑ Wt. 47·30 grammes.

3.—Similar; but chest shown, displaying cuirass.

R.—Similar.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 30·9 grammes.

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\* In spite of the presence of the letters S C, I have followed Cohen in classing the largest bronze pieces of Trajanus Decius (and of Etruscilla) as 'medallions.' See particularly Nos. 4 and 6, which are plated.

4.—Similar to Nos. 1 f.

R.—Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm ;  
around, VICT ORIAAVG ; in field, S C.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↑ Wt. 49·43 grammes.

No. 4 is plated.

5.—Similar to No. 3.

R.—Similar to No. 4.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 44·9 grammes.

6.—Similar.

R.—Similar.

Æ. 1·35. ↑↑ Wt. 32·46 grammes.

No. 6 is plated.

#### HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA.

1.—HERENNIAETRVSCILLA AVG Bust of Herennia Etrus-  
cilla r., draped and wearing stephane ; hair brought  
up in plait over back of head ; behind, crescent.

R.—The Empress, as Pudicitia, draped, seated l. on throne  
with back, her feet upon a footstool ; she holds  
sceptre in l., and with r. draws veil over her face ;  
around, PVDICITIA AVG ; in ex., S C.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 34·6 grammes.

#### VOLUSIAN.

1.—IMPCAECVIBVOLVSIANO AVG Bust of Volusian r.,  
laur., wearing cuirass ; paludamentum fastened  
across chest, which is shown.

R.—The three Monetæ, draped, standing side by side,  
three-quarter face towards l. ; each holds scales  
and cornucopiæ ; on ground to l. of each, a conical  
pile of money ; around, MONETAA VGG.

Bill. 1·35. ↑↑ Wt. 26·24 grammes.

## GALLIENUS.

1.—IMPGALLIENVSPFAVG. Bust of Gallienus r., laur., wearing cuirass; chest shown.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MO[NE]TAA VGG.

Bil. 1·1. ↑↑ Wt. 18·52 grammes.

## SALONINA.

1.—CORNELIASALONINAAVG Bust of Salonina r., draped and wearing stephane; hair waved, and brought up over back of head in plait.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, AEQVITASPVBL ICA.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 41·77 grammes.

[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. I. 2.]

2.—CORNELIASALONINAAVG Similar type.

R.—Pietas, draped, seated l. on throne with back, leaning with l. on sceptre, and stretching out r. towards two children who stand at her feet r.; beside throne, third child advancing l., holding out r. hand; around, PIETASA VGG.

Bill. 1·45. ↑↓ Wt. 35·92 grammes.

## CLAUDIUS II.

1.—IMPCAESCLAVIDVS PIVSFELIXAVG Bust of Claudius II r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, M O N E T A A V G

Æ. 1·45. ↑↑ Wt. 32·26 grammes.

2.—IMPCCLAVIDVSPFAVG Bust of Claudius II r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

R.—Similar, with M O N E T A A V G.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↓ Wt. 27·63 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. li. 3.]

Both these pieces have been gilt, and No. 2 has also been plated.

FLORIANUS.

1.—IMPCMANNFLORIANVSPAVG Bust of Florianus r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—The three Monetæ in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MONETAAVG

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 27·17 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. lii. 2.]

This piece is plated.

PROBUS.

1.—IMPPROBV SPFAVG Bust of Probus l., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; he carries spear, and holds in front of chest a shield ornamented with reliefs, showing the Emperor on horseback, preceded by Victory and followed by soldier with spear and shield.

R.—The three Monetæ in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MONETAAVG

Æ. 1·4. ↑↓ Wt. 26·37 grammes.

[Obv. = B. M. C., Pl. liii. 3; and R = B. M. C., Pl. liii. 2.]

No. 1 is plated.

2.—IMPCPRO BVSPFAVG Bust of Probus l., laur., wearing cuirass displaying aegis on chest; paludamentum over shoulders; both hands visible; in r. a globe surmounted by Victory r., and in l. a parazonium.

R.—Similar, with MONETAAVG.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↑ Wt. 27·23 grammes.

[For Obv., cf. B. M. C., Pl. liii. 2.]

No. 2 has once been gilt.

## CARUS.

1.—IMPCMAVRCARVSPFAVG Bust of, Carus r., laur., wearing cuirass displaying aegis on chest; paludamentum over shoulders.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MO NETA AV GG.

Æ. 1.45. ↑↓ Wt. 27.39 grammes.

This medallion is plated, and shows traces of gilding.

## CARINUS.

1.—MAVRCARINVSNOBCAES Bust of Carinus r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MO NETA AV GG.

Æ. 1.25. ↑↑ Wt. 25.89 grammes.

[Obv. = B. M. C., Pl. liv. 3.]

No. 1 has once been plated.

2.—Similar.

R.—Similar, with MO NETA VGG.

Æ. 1.3. ↑↑ Wt. 24.16 grammes.

No. 2, which is pierced, has once been plated.

## MAGNIA URBICA.

1.—MAGNIAV RBICAAVG Bust of Magnia Urbica r., draped, and wearing stephane; hair brought up over back of head in plait.

R.—The Empress, draped, seated l. on throne, as Pudicitia; she holds sceptre in l., and with r. draws veil over face; at her feet, two children r., the foremost with outstretched hands; at her side stands

Felicitas, draped, l., leaning with r. on long caduceus, and holding cornucopiae in l.; around, PVDICITIAAVG.

Æ. 1·65. ↑↓ Wt. 65·9 grammes. [Pl. XI. 2.]

No. 1 is plated.

#### DIOCLETIAN.

1.—IMPCCVALDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG Bust of Diocletian r., laur., seen from the side, wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MONETAAVGG.

Æ. 1·45. ↑↑ Wt. 30·25 grammes.  
[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. lv. 2.]

No. 1 is plated.

2.—Similar.

R.—Similar, with MONETAAVG.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↑ Wt. 21·83 grammes.

No. 2 is also plated.

#### MAXIMIAN I.

1.—IMPCMAVRVALMAXIMIANVSPFAVG Bust of Maximian I r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MONETAA VGG.

Æ. 1·45. ↑↑ Wt. 35·1 grammes.

No. 1 is plated.

2.\*—IMPCMAVRVALMAXIMIANVSPFAVG Bust of Maximian I l., laur., wearing tunica palmata and toga picta; he holds in l. hand a sceptre with eagle on the top, and in r. a globe surmounted by Victory r.

R.—Similar, with MONETA AV GG.

Æ. 1.45. ↑↑ Wt. 27.71 grammes.

No. 2, which has been pierced twice, is plated.

3.—VIRTUS MAXIMIAN AVG Bust of Maximian I l., laur., wearing cuirass, on chest of which a Gorgon's head is displayed; r. hand grasps bridle of horse, head and neck of which are seen; on l. arm, shield with device of Wolf and Twins under fig-tree.

R.—Moneta, draped, standing to front, holding scales and cornucopiae; at her feet l., conical pile of money; on l., male (?) figure, wearing helmet, cuirass, and chlamys, looking back in act of moving away l.; he holds in r. a globe surmounted by Victory, and leans with l. on spear, against which rests a shield; on r., draped female figure, head l., about to move away r., carrying ears of corn and fruit; around, SALVIS AVGET CAESS FELOR BISTERR.

Æ. 1.5. ↑↓ Wt. 22.7 grammes.

No. 3, which is also pierced, has once been plated. The reverse type provides an interesting variety to the monotonous group of the three Monetae. On another medallion of the same Emperor (Coh., 2nd ed., vi. p. 537, No. 412) we have a figure of Moneta, supported on the right by Jupiter, and on the left by Hercules. Probably the flanking figures in the present case are also divinities, not impossibly Mars (? or Roma) and Ceres, as Cohen has suggested.

#### CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

1.— - - L - - CONST - - - IVS NOB C Bust of Constantius Chlorus r., laur., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

R.—The three Monetae in usual attitude, with usual attributes; around, MON ETAA V G

Æ. 1.35. ↑↑ Wt. 18.82 grammes.

No. 1 is plated.



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

1.—CONSTANTI NVSMAXAVG Bust of Constantine r., wearing laur. diadem and cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor, in military dress, with spear in r., galloping r. on horseback; beneath horse's forefeet, a barbarian, who, resting on one knee and holding spear in r., pleads for mercy with l. hand raised and face upturned; around, VIRTVS AVGN.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 28·98 grammes.

No. 1 has once been plated.

2.\*—Similar.

R.—Constantinopolis, as Fortune, Victory, and Peace, draped, winged, and turreted, seated l. on stool, holding olive-branch in r. and cornucopiae in l.; her l. foot rests on prow; around, VICTORI AAVGVSTI.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 39·1 grammes. [Pl. XI. 3.]

No. 2, which is pierced, has once been plated.

3.—Bust of Constantinopolis l., wearing cuirass, cloak, and helmet wreathed with laurel; sceptre on l. shoulder; around, CONSTANTI NOPOLIS.

R.—Constantinopolis, draped and turreted, seated l. on stool, holding olive-branch and cornucopiae; behind, Victory advancing l. to crown her; around, VICTORIAAVG VSTI.

Æ. 1·35. ↑↓ Wt. 18·85 grammes.

[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. lviii. 1.]

No. 3, which is pierced, has once been gilt.

4.—Similar, with CONSTAN TINOPOLIS.

R.—Similar type, without Victory; around, VICTOR IA A VGGNN.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↑ Wt. 28·04 grammes.

No. 4 has once been plated; it appears to have an iron core.

5.\*—Bust of Roma l., wearing cuirass, cloak, and crested helmet; around, VRBS ROMA.

R.—Wolf r., suckling Romulus and Remus.

Æ. 1.35. ↑↓ Wt. 23.06 grammes.

[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. lviii. 3.]

6.—Similar.

R.—The Emperor, in military dress, standing r., holding short spear in r. and globe in l.; at his feet l., male captive seated l., with head bowed and hands tied behind his back; at his feet r., female captive seated r., with raised l. hand and upturned face; around, VIRTU SAVG.

Æ. 1.25. ↑↑ Wt. 13.7 grammes.

## CONSTANTINE II.

1.—VICTCONSTANTINVS AVG Bust of Constantine II r., wearing laur. diadem and cuirass, on breast of which Gorgon's head is displayed; paludamentum over shoulders.

R.—The Emperor, in military dress, galloping r. on horseback, about to pierce with spear a barbarian who has fallen forward on one knee, grasping sword in r. and holding shield above his head; beneath horse, a second barbarian, already prostrate, with shield by his side; around, DEBELLATO RIGENTT, and in ex., BARBARR.

Æ. 1.5. ↑↑ Wt. 34.95 grammes.

2.—Similar to No. 1; but cast.

Æ. 1.5. ↑↑ Wt. 40.78 grammes.

3.\*—CONSTANTINVS IVNNOBUST Bust of Constantine II r., wearing laur. diadem and cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor, in military dress, standing to front, head l., holding spear in l., and crowning with r. a

trophy, at foot of which a female captive seated l., with head buried in her hands; around, VIRTVS CONSTAVG.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↓ Wt. 22·53 grammes.  
[R = Pl. XI. 4.]

# CONSTANS.

1.\*—CONSTANSPF AVG Bust of Constans r., wearing laur. diadem and cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor on horseback, trampling down barbarian, as on No. 1 of Constantine the Great; around, VIRTVS AVGN.

Æ. 1·5. ↑↓ Wt. 33·56 grammes.

2.—D[NFLCONS] TANS AVG Similar type.

R.—The Emperor, on horseback r., overthrowing two barbarians, as on No. 1 of Constantine II; around, [DEB]ELLATOR IGENTT, and in ex., [BARBARR].

Æ. 1·4. ↑↓ Wt. 17·88 grammes.

One half of this medallion has been cut away.

# CONSTANTIUS II.

1.\*—FLIVLCONSTANTIVSNOBC Bust of Constantius II r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—A youth, in military dress, standing to front, head l.; he places r. hand on trophy, and holds inverted spear in l.; in front of trophy, bearded captive crouching l., his hands upon his knees; around, VIRTVS CAESARVM.

Æ. 1·35. ↑↑ Wt. 24·16 grammes.  
[R = Pl. XI. 5.]

2.—DNCONSTAN TIVS[PF AVG] Bust of Constantius II r., wearing laur. diadem and cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor, wearing mantle, tunic, and ornamental girdle, seated to front, his feet on footstool; he holds scroll in l., and with r. drops money into lap of Constantinopolis who stands beside him r., draped and wearing radiate crown; at his l. hand is Roma, standing to front, head l., helmeted and wearing short tunic which leaves r. breast exposed; she lays her r. on shoulder of Emperor, and holds spear in l.; around, [L]ARGI TIO

Æ. 1·5. ↑↑ Wt. 14·9 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. lxii. 3.]

3.—DNCONSTAN TIVSPFAVG Bust of Constantius II l., wearing laur. diadem, tunic, and toga; raised r. hand visible in front.

R.—The Emperor, in military attire, standing to front, head l., holding olive-branch in r. and spear in l.; behind him Victory passes l., looking back; she carries palm in r. and lays l. on Emperor's shoulder; around, VICTORIA · AVGVSTORVM.

Æ. 1·35. ↑↓ Wt. 30·51 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. lxii. 5.]

4.—Similar.

Æ. 1·4. ↑↓ Wt. 21·5 grammes.

5.—Similar.

Æ. 1·3. ↑↓ Wt. 16·71 grammes.

Nos. 3, 4, and 5 have all been plated, and No. 5 is pierced. The branch in the Emperor's right hand has hitherto escaped notice in descriptions of this type; where the surface is at all worn, it disappears in the folds of Victory's robe.

6.—DNCONSTAN TIVSPFAVG Bust of Constantius II r., wearing laur. diadem with double row of pearls, and cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—Roma, draped and helmeted, seated l. on throne with back, holding globe in r. and leaning with l. on spear; shield rests against throne; around, VRBS ROMA.

Æ. 1.25. ↑↓ Wt. 13.44 grammes.

No. 6 is pierced.

### MAGNENTIUS.

1.—IMPCAEMAGN ENTIVSAVG Bust of Magnentius r., bare-headed, wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor, in military attire, standing l., leaning with l. on spear and holding in extended r. a globe surmounted by small Victory r.; behind stands Victory, holding palm in l., and crowning Emperor with r.; around, VICTO RIA · AVGG.

Æ. 1.3. ↑↑ Wt. 15.9 grammes.

[B. M. C., Pl. lxiii. 2.]

No. 1 is pierced.

2.—IMPCAEMAGNE NTIVSAVG Similar type.

R.—Victory l., with wreath and palm, planting her r. foot on the back of a bearded captive, who kneels l. on r. knee, with hands tied behind him and head turned back; around, VICTOR IA · AVGG.

Æ. 1.4. ↑↑ Wt. 15.19 grammes.

[Cf. B. M. C., Pl. lxiii. 3.]

### CONSTANTIUS GALLUS.

1.—DNFLCLCONSTANTIVSNOBCAES Bust of Constantius Gallus r., bare-headed, wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm; around, GLORIA ROMANORVM.

Æ. 1.3. ↑↑ Wt. 14.38 grammes.

This medallion may possibly have once been gilt.

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## VALENS.

1.\*—DNVALENSPFAVG Bust of Valens r., laur., wearing cuirass; paludamentum fastened across chest, which is shown.

R.—The Emperor, in military attire, standing r., holding spear in r. and globe in l.; around, VIRTVS AVGG.

Æ. 12. ↑↑ Wt. 20·02 grammes.

[Pl. XI. 6.]

GEORGE MACDONALD.

## VIII. THE COINAGE OF ALLECTUS.

(See Plates XII., XIII.)

THE origin and early history of this Emperor is wrapped in even more obscurity than that of his predecessor, Carausius. The name Allectus does not occur elsewhere in Roman history. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson is of opinion that it is a Latin version of a Keltic word akin to Alyth, and possibly the origin of the name McAlloit.<sup>1</sup> What other names the Emperor bore are unknown. His prænomen is given by some authors as Caius, but it does not appear on his coinage. He is first heard of as the Praetorian prefect of Carausius, who, in 287 A.D., had established the short-lived British Empire which came to an end in 296 A.D. It is a matter of great regret that it produced no historian: as an account from within would have been of the highest interest.

The portraits of Allectus which appear on his coins present very little variation, and show him to have been a handsome man of middle age, wearing a full beard and moustache, his mouth firm, his nose slightly *retroussé*, and his head finely poised on his shoulders.

His appearance is certainly more noble than the

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<sup>1</sup> The word, variously spelt *alec*, *allec*, and *halec*, was, it appears from the writings of Horace and Pliny, the Latin name of the herring, and more particularly of the pickled herring.

character attributed to him by some of the ancient writers, who, admitting that he was a brave and skilful soldier, yet charge him with both cruelty and avarice. His treacherous murder of his benefactor, Carausius, in 293 A.D., is said to have been the outcome of his fear of punishment for some indulgence in those vices which had come to that Emperor's knowledge.

A study of the history of Carausius, so far as it is available, leads to the belief that he, usurper and rough sailor though he was, proved himself a capable and kindly ruler, apparently appreciating that his power, to be permanent, must be based on the support of the population of the country, as well as on that of the legionaries and sailors by whom it was founded. It is on record that he established friendly relations with the British tribes, and with the Scots, and secured the internal tranquillity of his kingdom. It may well be, therefore, that Allectus feared to face him on a charge of injustice to or harsh treatment of the British people, and took refuge in murder, the usual expedient of the time.

The new ruler, though he found peace at home, saw the war-cloud looming black and heavy to the southward. Diocletian, a great general and greater administrator, assumed the purple in 284 A.D., and set himself to restore peace and unity to the Roman world, which had suffered fifty years of strife and anarchy. Since the murder of Severus Alexander, in 235 A.D., more than sixty persons had seized the reins of power in one portion or another of the Empire, and in nearly every case found the road to a violent death. It was but rarely, if ever, during those years that all the provinces acknowledged the same master; but Diocletian, associating with himself three capable lieutenants—



Maximian Hercules as Augustus, and Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian as Caesars, at last brought the period of disruption to an end, and reunited the Empire, except only the province of Britain, where Carausius still held strongly out. Chlorus, perhaps the ablest of the Roman generals of the time, captured the town of Boulogne (Gessoriacum) and the other Gallic possessions of the British Emperor in 292 A.D., but did not venture to challenge his power at sea.

The murder of Carausius, however, removing the strong man, emboldened Chlorus to attempt a descent on Britain itself, and, after long preparation, he found himself, in 296 A.D., master of so powerful a fleet that he was able to divide it into two portions, one of which, starting unexpectedly from the mouth of the Seine without waiting, as was the usual custom, for a direct breeze, dared a cross wind and a stormy sea, eluded the fleet of Allectus in a fog off the Isle of Wight, and effected a landing on the Hampshire coast—an incident which may not be without its warning to us. Asclepiodotus, one of Chlorus's lieutenants, was in command. He decided to put all to the hazard, burnt his ships and marched inland. Chlorus himself, with the other portion of the fleet, sailed later, reached the Kentish coast at Rutupiae (Richborough), and afterwards sailed up the Thames.

Allectus, whose army was stationed near London, heard of the landing in Hampshire, and rushed to meet Asclepiodotus by forced marches, hoping, no doubt, to return in time to meet Chlorus. There is reason to believe that the battle took place at Woolmer, between Liss and Alton, in Hampshire. It ended disastrously for Allectus, who was defeated and slain, but his beaten Frankish and barbarian mercenaries made good their

retreat on London, and proceeded to sack the town and pack their plunder for removal to their own homes. Chlorus's ships arrived in the river at the crucial moment. He landed his troops, and slew the disordered remnants of the army of Allectus in the streets, thus, as the Chronicler quaintly says, providing the citizens with both protection and a gladiatorial display. So the first British Empire came to an end.

The great hoard of 29,800 coins, discovered in 1873 near Woolmer, on the estate of the Earl of Selborne, was probably Allectus's military chest.

The general style of the coins of Allectus compares favourably, not only with those of Carausius, but with most of the continental issues of the third century. Vaillant says of one of the Galley type, "*Hic nummus raritatis est singularis et elegantiae.*" The portraits on the coins of the two British Emperors are certainly less conventional, bolder and often more artistic, than those of the other Emperors of the same period, and the mechanical skill and precision of the British mints during the reign of Allectus were equal to those of their continental contemporaries.

The barbaric and blundered coins which so commonly occur during the reign of Carausius are very rare in that of Allectus. His bronze coinage is proportionately less common than that of Carausius, even after allowance is made for the fact that the older Emperor reigned more than twice as long as his successor. The Selborne hoard, for instance, comprised 545 coins of Carausius, and only 90 of Allectus, although it is probably the last deposit made in the latter's reign. Allectus issued some eighteen varieties of gold coinage and a large amount of bronze, but no true silver.

The Bodleian Library contains one very base white-metal piece of the type SALVS AVG., Health feeding a serpent, which she holds in her arms; but the other pieces which have been classed as silver by various writers appear to be only washed bronze,—and traces of washing are less common than on the continental issues of the period. The gold coins are, though very rare, somewhat more common than those of Carausius. They are of fine workmanship, and usually have a diameter of from 18 to 19 millimetres. They are somewhat less in measurement and considerably lighter in weight than the aurei of Diocletian and Maximian, and somewhat heavier than those of Carausius, as the following table of weights in grains troy, which is the result of the examination of a considerable number of coins, shows:—

	Allectus.	Carausius.	Diocletian.	Maximian.
Greatest weight ...	72·7	73·0	93·0	83·0
Least " ...	59·0	56·0	69·3	74·8
Average " ...	67·6	66·3	80·1	81·1

This table omits one very exceptional aureus of Allectus, which is said to exceed 100 grains.

The bronze coinage of the size commonly known as  $\text{Æ}^3$ , generally measures from 20 to 23 millimetres in diameter, and, in this respect, very nearly corresponds to that of Diocletian and Maximian; in weight it is somewhat superior, having an approximate average of 66·6 grains, as against about 59·7 for those two Emperors.

The bronze issues of Allectus comprise also a great number of smaller coins, having for reverse type a galley, with one or other of the legends LAETITIA AVG and VIRTUSAVG, with the letter Q in the exergue.

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The bronze issues of Allectus comprise also a great number of smaller coins, having for reverse type a galley, with one or other of the legends LAETITIA AVG and VIRTUSAVG, with the letter Q in the exergue.

The difference in size and weight between these coins and the true  $\text{Æ}^3$  is well marked, and there is hardly any overlapping, as the following table of usual sizes and weights of reasonably fine specimens shows :—

	$\text{Æ}^3$ .	Galley type.
Largest size ... ..	23 mm.	19 mm.
Smallest „ ... ..	20 „	18 „
Greatest weight ... ..	76 grains	47 grains
Least „ ... ..	55 „	38·5 „
Average „ ... ..	66·6 „	41 „

The great majority of the coins approximate to the average rather than to the extremes. It is true that coins are found which do not fall within these limits of weight and measurement, but they are so rare that they may be treated as exceptions which prove the rule. Some of those which are very light will be found barbarous in style, while most of the heaviest pieces owe something to a thick patina.

In view of the considerable care and skill in mintage to which the coinage of Allectus bears decided witness, we are forced to the conclusion that this distinct difference between the two classes of coins is not accidental, and that they did not pass current at the same value. It is suggested that the mint-mark Q, which is never absent from the coins of the Galley type, and never found on those of the larger issue, indicates that the former passed current as *quinarii*, at half the value of the latter. This view is put forward with diffidence, as it has not as yet commended itself to numismatists, many of whom have preferred to interpret the mark Q as that of the fourth monetary office. It will, however, be seen

below that, although there is some reason to suppose that a fourth monetary office did operate in London (using the letter D as its mark), there is no evidence whatever that the mint of Colchester, from which all the "Laetitia" and quite half the "Virtus" Galley types were issued, ever had more than one officina. It will be remembered, too, that the letter Q undoubtedly does signify "quinarius" on some older Roman coins, and that there was a small issue of quinarii by Carus, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian, and other Emperors, in continental circulation at the time. These quinarii had an average weight of about 30 grains only, but, as above mentioned, the true Æ of Allectus were considerably heavier than those of the Continent, and it is not surprising to find a similar difference in the quinarii.

The practice of placing mint-marks on the reverse of a coin commenced in the reign of Gordianus Pius, but was rarely adopted during that and several subsequent reigns. They are, however, often found on coins of Gallienus, and became increasingly common as the century progressed. The object of the marks was to indicate one or more of the following particulars, viz. : (1) the value of the coin ; (2) the city of its origin ; (3) the number of the monetary officina or workshop of the mint in which it was struck ; and sometimes (4) the series or issue to which it belonged. Marks dealing with matters (1) and (2) are more commonly found in the exergual space ; the mark of the officina is sometimes in the field of the coin, to right or left of the type, and sometimes in the exergue, either alone or in combination with the mark of value. On a comparatively small number of coins, mostly struck in the latter years of the third century, are letters relating to the title or

attributes of the Emperor, sometimes in sequence on a series of coins, as the letters I. O. B. I. (for IOVI) on coins of Diocletian, and sometimes by way of abbreviation, as the mark  $\frac{H | ER}{A}$  on coins of Maximian Hercules.

The system of mint-marking was largely adopted by the moneyers of Carausius, and almost invariably by those of Allectus, unmarked specimens of the issues of the latter being of great rarity. Where the type permits it, his coins are almost always marked both in the field and exergue. They appear to have been issued from two cities only, which are distinguished by the mint-letters C and L. The letter L is undoubtedly the mark of London. As to the former there has been controversy, some numismatists favouring Camulodunum (Colonia Camulodunum), *i.e.* Colchester, and others Clausentum, *i.e.* Bitterne, near Southampton.

It is at first sight somewhat in favour of the view that Clausentum was a mint city that the mark on the coins of Allectus occasionally reads C L, and the case would be much strengthened if the existence of the coin of Carausius published by Dr. Stukeley, in his *Medallic History* of that Emperor, Pl. xxix. 2, on which he reads the exergual mark as CLA, could be verified. This it has not proved possible to do.

Most modern writers have, however, adopted the view that both C and CL indicate Colchester, the fact that it was a "Colonia," the first Roman colony in Britain, being thought sufficient explanation of the variation of the mark. This view is very probably correct. Camulodunum was a place of great importance, while the Roman remains found at Clausentum appear to indicate that it was a military station only, and of



small size. The records of *provenance* afford little assistance, as the coins found at all three places include numerous pieces bearing each mark; but a close examination seems to show that while peculiarities in style, and to some extent in lettering, distinguish the coins of London from the rest, no such difference can be detected between those marked C and those marked CL. The following marks may then be attributed to Colchester, viz. :—

$\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{C}$      $\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{MSC}$      $\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{PC}$      $\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{QC}$      $\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{SPC}$      $\frac{S | \cdot}{C}$      $\frac{S | A}{C}$      $\frac{S | P}{C}$      $\frac{S | P}{CL}$

and the following to London :—

$\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{ML}$      $\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{QL}$      $\frac{\cdot | \cdot}{MSL}$      $\frac{\bullet | \cdot}{ML}$      $\frac{D | \cdot}{ML}$      $\frac{S | \cdot}{MLXX}$      $\frac{S | A}{ML}$      $\frac{S | A}{MSL}$      $\frac{S | B}{ML}$   
 $\frac{S | C}{ML}$      $\frac{S | F}{ML}$      $\frac{S | M}{ML}$      $\frac{S | P}{ML}$      $\frac{S | P}{MSL}$

The marks  $\frac{S | A}{III}$  and  $\frac{S | A}{MI}$  are probably imperfectly struck issues of London, while the marks  $\frac{S | A}{\cdot}$  and  $\frac{S | P}{\cdot}$ , without exergual letters, which are very rarely found, sometimes arise from lack of space in the exergue or from inadvertence or imperfect striking, and can only be attributed with reference to the style of the coin. The busts on the Colchester coins are frequently in somewhat higher relief than on those of London, while the letters S and E are often more compactly formed by the London moneyers than by those of Colchester.

The mark  $\frac{D | \bullet}{\cdot}$  on a gold coin in the Hunter Collection, type VIRTUS AVG., the Emperor riding down an enemy whose limbs occupy most of the available exergual space, is of London.

The letter D has only been found on one other coin,

also an aureus, type ORIENS AVG., the sun standing to left, in the Royal Cabinet at Berlin. It is there coupled with the letters ML.

Cohen quotes from an old catalogue an exergual mark A on an aureus, type VICTORIA AVG, Victory walking to right, which is presumably also a London mark, as the entire gold issue appears to have been from that mint.

The interpretation of the letters used in mint-marks presents great difficulties. M. Babelon considers many of them to be secret marks, and expresses his inability to explain such combinations as SA and SP, which are found on the coinage of Allectus. Many authorities assume SP to mean *sacra pecunia* and SM *sacra moneta*, and for this consecration of the coins there is warrant in the legend SACR . MON . VRB . AVGG . ET . CAESS, and some similar inscriptions on coins of Diocletian, Maximian, and other Emperors; but it may be objected that these avowedly sacred issues are not numerous, and that there is no evidence that all money was, in the tumult and demoralization of the third century, looked upon as sacred, while the letters SP are extremely common under Allectus, and frequent under Carausius. This interpretation too takes no note of the very common combination SA., the scarcer ones, SB., SC., and SF., nor of numerous other combinations, which, though they were not used by Allectus, were common under his predecessor.

M. Jules Maurice, in his very useful paper on the London mint of the Constantinian period, has to deal with the marks SP. and SF., which were still in use, and with a new one, TF. He interprets them as *Securitas Perpetua*, *Securitas Flaviana*, and *Tranquilitas Flaviana*. It is difficult to accept these explanations, seeing that

Carausius and Allectus were anterior to, or at least could not have desired to record, the coming to power of the Flavian family. Some better explanation must, therefore, be sought for, and it is suggested that, as mint-marks as a rule undoubtedly refer to matters connected with the mint only, an explanation confined to such reference is more likely to be correct than one which introduces extraneous matters. It is generally accepted that the letters A, B, and so on frequently represent the numerals 1, 2, etc., and indicate the number of the monetary office, and it is also accepted that the monetary office is sometimes indicated by the first letter of the Latin word representing its number as T, *tertia*, Q, *quarta*. It seems possible to explain most of the mint-marks of Allectus by the application of these principles as follows:—

- S.A. Signata I. officina.
- S.P. „ prima officina.
- S.B. „ secunda officina.
- S.C. „ tertia officina.
- D. Quarta officina.
- S.F. Signata sexta officina.
- S.P.C. „ prima (officina) Camulodunensis.
- M.S.C. Moneta signata Camulodunensis.
- M.S.L. „ signata Londinensis.
- M.C. „ Camulodunensis.
- M.L. „ Londinensis.
- M.L.XX. „ Londinensis, one - twentieth of a denarius.
- P.C. Perhaps Pecunia Camulodunensis, or Prima (officina) Camulodunensis, but more likely a blundered version of Q.C.

It will be noticed, on perusal of the subjoined catalogue of coins, that the marks SB. and SF. have each been found on one specimen only, and their extreme rarity suggests that they also may be mere blunders.

The mark  $\frac{S}{M} | \frac{M}{M}$  is given on the authority of Mr. Akerman, *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, p. 152, but no piece bearing it has been recently noticed.

The use of P. as well as A. to indicate the first office may have arisen from a desire to distinguish between two series of coins issued from that office.

The catalogue shows that Colchester was as active as London in the production of varieties of type, and it appears probable that of the total issue of bronze coins at least half, and perhaps somewhat more, come from the Colchester mint, although that mint appears, as above mentioned, to have consisted of one officina only, while there is some evidence of four, and perhaps even six officinae being employed in London.

The coinage of this old British Empire never obtained much circulation on the Continent or north of the Tweed, and most of the finds of Allectus's coins have taken place in Central and Southern England and Wales. A very few specimens have been discovered in Northern France, but they appear to be unrecorded in other parts of the Continent and in Scotland. Coins of Carausius have been found over a somewhat wider area.

The types made use of by Allectus are neither so numerous nor so interesting as those of Carausius, and are for the most part similar to those found on the commoner issues of the earlier Emperor, who was himself somewhat of a copyist. The following reverses, however, offer

material differences, viz. : *A* . COMES . AVG., Victory walking; *Æ* . DIANAE REDVCI., Diana with stag; FELICITAS SAECVLII., Happiness standing to left by an altar, holding a patera and a long caduceus; and LEG II., Lion; while the combination of the legend VIRTVS . AVG. with the galley, a most suitable type for an insular power, is new. The dependence of that power on its fleet was well understood, and it is not surprising to find that nearly half the existing coins of the reign are of one or other of the Galley types. Those reading LAETITIA . AVG. appear to have been issued at Colchester only, the legend VIRTVS . AVG. being used by both mints. The representations of the galley on these coins show very numerous variations in the number of oars and oarsmen, the method of rigging, and other matters. Some are without mast; on some stands a winged Victory; and on one type is a seated figure of Neptune. The Pax type, which forms so large a part of the Carausian coinage, is much less common under Allectus, and the legends terminating in AVGGG, issued by Carausius as an assertion of the association in the Empire which he claimed to have been accorded by Diocletian and Maximian, do not appear on the coins of Allectus, if one of barbaric workmanship reading PAX . AVGGG, be excepted. The combination of the inscription LEG II with the Lion type is probably a moneyer's error, for that animal was the badge of the fourth, not the second legion.

Some indication of the comparative rarity of the various types may be gathered from the number of authorities quoted in the following catalogue, which is the result of the examination of between thirty and forty of the principal collections and various numismatic

works. The rarity of the piece is in inverse ratio to the number of authorities quoted: where "various" or "etc." appears, the coin is common, but it will be seen that many types are probably almost unique. Though the list shows a great advance on any previous publication, it is impossible to doubt that it is still incomplete, and that other scarce types will from time to time be discovered.

Since the above was written, a new type of the aureus has been found near Boulogne, and will shortly be published.

I am indebted to the President for having kindly placed at my disposal some of the coins illustrated, and to the authorities of the British Museum, and to the Royal Cabinet at Berlin, for similar assistance.

PERCY H. WEBB.

## CATALOGUE.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

1. *Common obverse legends, referred to by numbers.*

No.	Legend.
1.	IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. AVG.
2.	IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG.
3.	IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. I. AVG.

2. *Common types of bust, referred to by letter.*

Letter.	Bust.
A.	Radiate bust to right, draped.
B.	" " draped and cuirassed.
C.	" " cuirassed only.
D.	Laureate bust to right, draped.
E.	" " draped and cuirassed.
F.	" " cuirassed only.

3. *Authorities quoted.*

Akerman.	<i>Coins of the Romans relating to Britain.</i>
Ant. Rich.	C. Roach Smith, <i>Antiquities of Richborough.</i>
B. M.	British Museum.
B. N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Coh.	Cohen, <i>Médailles Impériales</i> , Ed. 2.
Coll. Ant.	C. Roach Smith, <i>Collectanea Antiqua.</i>
K. M.	Königliche Münz-Kabinet, Berlin.
Mon. Brit.	Petrie, <i>Monumenta Historica Britannica.</i>
Num. Chron.	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
R. & F.	Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent.

4. *Sizes are given in millimetres. Weights, in grains troy.*

Coins marked thus \* are found in both mints without variation except the mint-mark.

MINT LONDINUM.

GOLD.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
1	2. Laureate, undraped bust, r.	ADVENTVS AVG. Emperor, radiate, in military attire, riding l.; r. hand raised, holding short sceptre; under fore-foot of horse, captive seated l.	·   · ML	20.	Akerman, pl. vi. 46.
2	2. E. Weight 69·9.	COMES AVG. Minerva, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. vertical spear; l. hand resting on buckler.	·   · ML	18.	Coh. 3. Hunter. Evans.
3	2. E. Wt. 67.	COMES AVG. Victory, walking r., holding r. wreath, l. palm.	·   · ML	18·5.	Coh. 4. Evans. Found at Chittenden, Kent.
4	2. E. Wt. 71.	ORIENS AVG. Sun, radiate, semi-nude, standing l.; r. hand raised, l. holding globe.	·   · ML	19.	Coh. 26.
5	2. F. Wt. 64.	As above. [Pl. XII. 1.]	D   · ML	18·5.	K. M.
6	2. D. Wt. 68·7.	As above, but bound captive seated at foot on each side.	·   · ML	19.	Coh. 28. B. M.



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7	2. Laureate head.	As above, but sun holds r. whip.	$\frac{\cdot   \cdot}{ML}$	Coh. 29.
8	ALLECTVS P F AVG. D.	PAX AVG. Peace, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. transverse sceptre.	$\frac{\cdot   \cdot}{ML}$	18. Evans.
9	2. F.	As above, sceptre vertical.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$	18. Coh. 30.
10	2. F. Wt. 70.3.	As above, sceptre transverse. [Pl. XII. 2.]	$\frac{\cdot   \cdot}{ML}$	19. B. M. Found in Isle of Dogs. London.
11	2. F.	PAX AVG. Peace in biga, galloping l., r. hand raised.	$\frac{ }{ML}$	20. Coh. 42. Bod- leian.
12	2. D. Wt. 66.4.	SALVS AVG. Health, standing r., holding transversely serpent, which she feeds from patera held l.	$\frac{ }{ML}$	18. Coh. 62. B. M.
13	2. F. Wt. 59.	As above.	$\frac{\cdot   \cdot}{ML}$	18. Coh. 62. B. M.
14	ALLECTVS P F AVG. D.	SPES AVG. Hope, walking l., holding r. flower, l. hand lifting robe.	$\frac{\cdot   \cdot}{ML}$	18. Coh. 66. Stolen from B. N.
15	2. F.	As above.	$\frac{\cdot   \cdot}{ML}$	20. Coh. 67. Do.

L 2

MINT LONDINUM—continued.

GOLD—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
16	2. F.	VICTORIA AVG. Victory, walking, holding r. wreath, l. palm; at her feet, captive seated.	·   · A		Coh. 75. Old Catalogue.
17	3. F. Wt. 72·7.	VIRTUS AVG. Mars, helmeted, in military attire, standing r., holding r. vertical spear, l. hand resting on buckler. [Pl. XII. 3.]	·   · MSL	19.	Coh. 77. B. M.
18	2. F. Wt. 67·6.	VIRTUS AVG. Horseman, galloping r., holding r. short spear pointed downwards towards fallen enemy, by whose side lies shield.	D   ● .	18.	Coh. 80. Hunter.
19	1. F.	BASE SILVER.  SALVS AVG. Health, standing r., holding transversely a serpent, which she feeds from a patera held l.	●   · ML	17.	Bodleian.
20	* 2. C.	BRONZE.  AEQVITAS AVG. Equity, standing l., holding r. scales, l. cornucopiae.	S   A ML	20.	Coh. 2. Hunter.

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21	2. B.	COMES AVG. Minerva, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. spear; l. hand resting on buckler.	S   A MSL	20.	Lincoln.
22	2. A.	FORTVNA AVG. Fortune, seated l., holding r. rudder (?), l. cornucopiae; before her l. wheel.	·   · ML	20.	Webb.
23	* 2. C.	HILARITAS AVG. Mirth, standing l., holding r. palm, l. cornucopiae.	S   A S   P S   A ML ML MSL	20, 21.	Coh. 9. Hunter, etc.
24	* 2. C.	LAETIT AVG. Joy, standing l., holding r. wreath, l. rest- ing on staff, javelin, or anchor.	S   A ML	21.	Hands. Found at Andovers- ford.
25	* 2. C.	LAETITI AVG. As above.	S   A S   P S   A ML ML MSL	20, 21.	Coh. 15. B. M. etc.
26	2. A.	LAETITIA AVG. As above.	S   A ML	21.	B. M.
27	2. B.	As above.	S   · S   A ML ML	20, 22.	Hunter. Gneecchi. Lincoln.
28	* 2. C.	As above.	·   · S   A S   B ML ML ML S   P S   A ML MSL	21, 22.	Coh. 15. B. M. Hunter, etc.

\* See also uncertain mint.

MINT LONDINUM—continued.

BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
29	2. Radiate, cuirassed bust l., holding r. spear over shoulder, buckler on l. shoulder.	As above. [Pl. XII. 6.]	S   A S   P ML ML	21, 22.	Royal Mint. Evans.
30	2. C.	L[E]G II. Lion, walking l.	.   . ML	23.	Coh. 24. <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1885, p. 249. Found at South Shields.
31	* 2. C.	MONETA AVG. Moneta, standing l., holding r. scales, l. cornucopiae.	S   A S   A ML MSL	21, 22.	Coh. 25. B. M. Hunter.
32	1. A.	ORIENS AVG. Sun, radiate, semi-nude, standing l., r. hand raised, l. holding globe.	S   A ML	21.	Evans.
33	3 2. B.	ORIENS AVG. As above.	S   A ML	21, 23.	Coh. 27. Hunter. Stroehlin.
34	2. C.	As above.	S   P ML	21, 22.	K. M. Lincoln.

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35	IMP C ALLECTVS P F AV. A.	PAX AVG. Peace, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. vertical sceptre.	S   MLXX	23.	Coh. 32. B. M.
36	As above. C.	As above.	S   P MLXX	22.	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1874, p. 88.
37	2. A.	As above.	S   A S   P ML ML	22.	Lincoln, etc.
38	* 2. B.	As above.	S   A S   P ML ML S   A S   A MSL III	21, 22, 23.	Coh. 31. B. M. Hunter, etc.
39	* 2. C.	As above.	S   A S   P ML ML	20, 21.	B. M. Gnechi, etc.
40	IMP C ALLECTVS PIVS FELIX AVG. C.	As above.	S   P ML	21.	Royal Mint.
41	2. Radiate, cuirassed bust l., holding r. spear over shoulder, buckler on l. shoulder.	As above.	S   A ML	23.	Webb.
42	* 2. A.	As above, but sceptre transverse.	S   A S   A MI ML S   P S   P ML MSL	20, 21, 23.	B. M. K. M., etc.

\* See uncertain mint.

\* See also uncertain mint.

MINT LONDINUM—*continued*.

BRONZE—*continued*.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
43	* 2. B.	As above.	[Pl. XII. 5.] S   A S   F S   M ML ML ML S   P S   A .   . ML MSL SML	20, 21, 22.	Coh. 37. B. M., etc.
44	* 2. C.	As above.	[Pl. XII. 7.] S   A S   P S   A ML ML MSL	19, 20, 21, 22.	B. M. K. M., etc.
45	2. Radiate, draped bust l., wearing lorum, holding r. sceptre surmounted by eagle.	As above.	S   A ML	20.	Coh. 38. Hunter.
46	2. Radiate, cuirassed bust l., holding r. spear over shoulder, buckler on l. shoulder.	As above.	S   A S   P ML ML	20, 21.	Coh. 39. Hunter. Naville.
47	2. C.	PIETAS AVG. Piety, standing l. by altar, holding r. patera, l. box of perfumes.	S   A S   A ML MSL	21.	B. M. Lincoln.
48	* 2. A.	PROVID AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. globe, l. cornucopiae.	S   A ML	20, 22.	Coh. 44. Hunter, etc.

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49	* 2. B.	As above.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML} \mid \frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	20, 22, 23.	B. M. Hunter, etc.
50	2. Radiate, cuirassed bust l., holding r. spear over shoulder, buckler on l. shoulder.	As above, but l. hand empty and raised.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	20.	Coh. 45. <i>Mon. Brit.</i> , xvi. 24. Found at Rouen.
51	* 2. B.	PROVID AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. staff, which rests on ground between globe and foot, or points at globe, l. cornucopiae.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML} \mid \frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	20, 21, 23.	Coh. 46. Various.
52	2. C.	As above, but globe between staff and foot.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	20, 22.	B. M. Feather- stonhaugh.
53	2. C.	PROVID DEOR. Providence, standing l., holding r. staff, l. cornucopiae.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	22.	Gnecchi.
54	* 2. A.	PROVIDE AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. globe, l. transverse sceptre.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	22, 23.	Coh. 50. Lin- coln.
55	2. A.	PROVIDENTIA AVG. As above.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	20.	B. M.
56	* 2. C.	As above.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML} \mid \frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{MSL}$	21, 22.	Coh. 56. B. M. Hunter, etc.

\* See also uncertain mint.

\* Akerman.

MINT LONDINUM—*continued.*BRONZE—*continued.*

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
57	* 2. A.	As above, but Providence holds l. cornucopiae.	S   A ML	20, 21, 22.	Coh. 51. B. M., etc.
58	2. C.	As above.	S   A ML	20, 21.	Lincoln. R. & F.
59	2. Radiate, cuirassed bust l., holding r. spear over shoulder, buckler on l. shoulder.	As above.	S   A ML	20.	Coh. 52. B. M.
60	* 1. C.	PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. staff which rests on ground between globe and foot, or points to globe, l. cornucopiae.	S   A ML		Coh. 54. R. & F. Old Catalogue.
61	2. C.	As above.	S   A   S   A ML   MSL	20, 21, 22.	Coh. 55. Hunter, etc.
62	2. Radiate, cuirassed bust l., holding r. sceptre, sur- mounted by eagle.	As above.	S   A ML	22.	Evans.
63	2. C.	As above, but globe between staff and foot.	S   A   S   P MSL   MSL	21, 22.	Gnecchi. W. H. Robinson.



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64	2. C.	PROVIT AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. globe, l. cornucopiae.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	21.	Coh. 58. Gnechi.
65	2. C.	ROMAE AETER. Rome, standing l. in temple. [Pl. XII 8.]	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	20.	Webb.
66	2. B.	SAECVLJ FELICITAS. Emperor in military attire, standing r., holding r. transverse spear, l. globe.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	21.	Coh. 61. Hunter.
67	2. A.	SALVS AVG. Health, standing r., holding transversely a serpent, which she feeds from a patera held l.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	20.	Coh. 63. B. N. K. M. Lin- coln.
68	2. C.	As above.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	21.	Coh. 63. Hunter.
69	2. C.	SALVS AVG. Health, standing l. by altar l., holding r. patera, l. vertical sceptre.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML} \mid \frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{C}{ML}$	21.	Coh. 65. Hunter.
70	2. A.	SALVS AVG. Health, seated l., feeding a serpent rising from altar.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML}$	20.	Evans.
71	2. B.	SPES AVG. Hope, walking l., holding r. flower, l. hand lifting her robe.	$\frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{A}{ML} \mid \frac{S}{ML} \mid \frac{P}{ML}$	22.	Coh. 68. Hunter. R. & F. Old Catalogue.

## MINT LONDINUM—continued.

## BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
72	* 2. C.	SPES PVBLICA. As above.	S   A ML	22.	Hunter.
73	2. C.	[TEMPOR] FELICITAS. Happiness, standing l., holding r. long caduceus, l. cornucopiac.	S   A ML	22.	Coh. 71. Hunter.
74	* 2. C.	TEMPORVM FELICI. As above.	S   P ML	22.	Ant. Rich. Found at Richborough.
75	* 2. C.	TEMPORVM FELICITAS. As above.	S   A S   A ML MSL	22, 23.	Hunter. Bod- leian.
76	2. C.	As above, but caduceus short. [Pl. XII. 9.]	S   A MSL	22.	K. M.
77	2. A.	VICTORIA AVC. Victory, walking l., holding r. wreath, l. palm.	S   P ML	22.	W. H. Robin- son.
78	2. B.	As above.	S   P ML	22.	Royal Mint.
79	2. B.	As above, but Victory walks r.	S   P ML	21.	Lincoln.

80	2. B.	VICTORIA AVG. As above, but Victory stands l.	$\frac{S   P}{ML}$	24.	Evans.
81	2. C.	VIRTUS AVG. Mars helmeted, in military attire, standing l., r. hand resting on buckler, l. holding vertical spear.	$\frac{S   P}{ML}$	23.	Watchfield find, 1905.
82	2. A.	VIRTUS AVG. Mars as above, but standing r., attributes reversed.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$	20, 21, 22.	Coh. 78. B. M., etc.
83	2. B.	As above.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$	23.	Lincoln.
84	2. C.	VIRTUS AVG. Emperor, in military attire, standing r., holding r. transverse spear, l. globe.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$	21.	Coh. 79. Lincoln.
85	2. C.	VIRTUS AVG. Hercules, nude, standing l., lion's skin on shoulder, r. hand resting on club, l. on hip.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$	22.	Coll. Ant., vii. 226. Evans.
86	2. C.	VIRTUS AVG. Trophy between two seated captives.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$	20.	Howorth.
87	* 1. C.	VIRTUS AVG. Galley, mast, cordage, 7 rowers, 4 oars, rudder.	$\frac{S   A}{ML}$ $\frac{S   A}{QL}$		Coh. 82. Ant. Rich.

MINT LONDINUM—continued.

BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
88	2. A.	As above, but galley l., 6 rowers, 5 oars, rudder, on mast bird r.	· · QL	19.	<i>Coll. Ant.</i> , vii. 227. Warne. Evans.
89	* 2. C.	As above, to l. or r., without bird: numerous varieties in numbers of oars and rowers, of which the following have been noted:— Rowers. None. " " " " " 2. 3. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 5. 6. 6. 6. 7. 7. 10. Oars. 4. 5. 6. 7. 4. 6. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 5. 6. 10. 5. 6. 7. 7. 10. 6.	· · QL	18, 19, 20, 21  Pieces measuring 20 and 21 mm. are unusual, and generally on thin flans.	Coll. 81. Various.

[Pl. XIII. 11.]

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90	2. Radiate, enirassed bust l., holding r. spear over shoulder, buckler on l. shoulder.	As above. Galley l.; rowers and oars indistinct.	· · QL	19.	Gneecchi.
91	* 2. A.	As above, but galley without mast.	· · QL	19.	Coh. 85. Lincoln.
92	* 2. C.	As above. Varieties noted. Rowers. 4. 5. 6. Oars. 4. 5. 7. 6.	· · QL	18, 19.	Various.
93	2. C.	As above. Galley l.; 5 rowers, 6 oars on port side, 4 uplifted on starboard side visible.	· · QL	19.	Lincoln.
94	2. C.	As above. Winged Victory, standing l. amidships, holding r. wreath, l. palm; 4 rowers, 5 oars, rudder.	· · QL	18.	Bodleian.
95	2. C.	As above. Victory stands somewhat aft; 4 rowers, 4 oars, rudder.	· · QL	19.	Allen. <i>Coll. Ant.</i> , vii. 227. Found at Heigham, Kent.
96	2. A.	As above. Neptune, semi-nude, seated l., on galley l., holding r. anchor; 5 oars, rudder.	· · QL	20.	<i>Nem. Chron.</i> , 1866, p. 304.

MINT CAMULODUNUM.

BRONZE.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
97	2. B.	ABVNDANT AVG. Abundance, standing l., pouring fruits from apron into modius l.	S   P C	21.	Evans.
98	2. B.	ABVNDANTIA AVG. [Pl. XII. 10.] As above.	S   P C	22.	Webb.
99	2. C.	ADVENTVS AVG. Emperor, radiate, in military attire, riding l., r. hand raised holding short sceptre, under fore-foot of horse captive seated l.	.   . SPC	20, 21.	Coh. 1. B. M. Wilks. <i>His- tory of Hants.</i>
100	* 2. C.	AEQVITAS AVG. Equity, standing l., holding r. scales, l. cornucopiae.	S   P C	21.	Coh. 2. Hunter.
101	2. C.	COMES AVG. Minerva, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. spear, l. hand resting on buckler.	S   P C	21.	Spink.
102	2. C.	DIANAE REDVCI. Diana, walking r., looking l., holding r. bow, leading stag.	.   . SPC	21.	Bodleian.
103	2. C.	FELICITAS SAECVLI. Happiness, standing l., holding r. patera over lighted altar, l. caduceus.	S   P C	21.	Coh. 5. Hunter.

104	2. B.	<b>FIDES EXERCIT.</b> Four military ensigns.	$\cdot   \cdot$ SPC	22.	Coh. 6. <i>Warn.</i> <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1874, p. 91. Evans.
105	3. B.	As above.	$\cdot   \cdot$ SPC		<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1874, p. 91.
106	2. C.	<b>FIDES MILITV.</b> Faith, standing l., holding r. military ensign, l. hand by side.	$S   \cdot$ C	22.	Coh. 7. Hunter.
107	1. C.	<b>FIDES MILITVM.</b> Faith, as above, but ensign in each hand.	$S   P$ C	22.	R. & F.
108	2. B.	As above.	$S   P$ C	22.	Dickinson.
109	2. C.	As above.	$S   P$ $S   P$ C CL	21, 22.	Coh. 8. Bollesian. Lincoln, etc.
110	* 2. C.	<b>HILARITAS AVG.</b> Mirth, standing l., holding r. palm, l. cornucopiae.	$S   P$ C	21.	Coh. 9. R. & F.
111	3. C.	<b>IOVI CONSER.</b> Jupiter, nude, standing l., mantle on shoulder, holding r. thunderbolt, l. vertical sceptre.	$S   P$ C	22.	Warn. Lincoln.
112	IMP C ALLECTVS PI FE AVG. C.	As above.	$S   P$ C	21.	Coh. 10.
113	1. B.	<b>LAETIT AVG.</b> Joy, standing l., holding r. wreath, l. rest- ing on staff, javelin, rudder, or anchor.	$S   P$ C	21.	Coh. 14. R. & F.

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M

MINT CAMULODUNUM—continued.

BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
114	2. B.	As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{A}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	20, 21, 22, 23.	Coh. 12. Hunter, Fitz- william, etc.
115	3. A.	As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Coh. 13. Sel- borne.
116	* 2. C.	LAETITI AVG. As above.	$\frac{S}{MC} \mid \frac{A}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C} \mid \frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{CL}$	20, 21.	Coh. 15. B. M. Carfrae. Lin- coln.
117	IMP C ALLECTVS PI FEL AVG. A.	As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	23.	Royal Mint.
118	IMP ALLECTVS P F AVG. C.	LAETITIA AVG. As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	21.	Lincoln.
119	** 2. C.	As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C} \mid \frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{CL}$	20, 21, 22.	Coh. 15. B. M. Hunter, etc.
120	IMP C ALLECTVS AVG. A.	LAETITIA AVG. Galley, with mast and cordage.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$		Coh. 19.
121	As above. B.	As above. Galley r., mast, cordage; 4 rowers, 6 oars, rudder.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	19.	Num. Chron., 1874, p. 92.



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122	As above. C.	As above. Galley, as above, with the following variations:— Rowers. 4. 4. 4. 6. Oars. 4. 6. 7. [Pl. XIII. 9.]	· · QC	19.	Selborne. Fitzwilliam, etc.
123	1. A.	As above. Rowers. 4. 4. Oars. 4. 5.	· · PC QC	19.	Coh. 20. R. & F.
124	1. C.	As above. Rowers. 4. 4. Oars. 4. 5.	· · QC	18, 19.	B. M. Roach Smith. Ellia.
125	2. A.	As above. Rowers. 6. 6. Oars. 6. 8.	· · QC	19.	Lincoln. Webb.
126	2. C.	As above. Rowers. None. 4. 4. 5. 6. Oars. 6. 4. 6. 6.	· · QC	18, 19.	Coh. 17. B. M. Hunter, Bodleian, etc.

\* See also uncertain mint.

† R. & F. Old Catalogue.

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MINT CAMULODUNUM—*continued.*  
BRONZE—*continued.*

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
127	3. C.	As above; 4 rowers, 5 oars.	·   · QC	19.	Col. 18. Selborne. Lincoln.
128	IMP C ALLECTVS AVG. C.	As above; 6 rowers, 6 oars.	·   · QC	19.	Col. 18. K. M.
129	IMP C ALLECTVS PI FE AVG. C.	As above; 5 rowers, 5 oars.	·   · QC	19.	Lincoln.
130	2. A.	As above; steersman standing aft.	·   · QC		Col. 22.
131	2. A.	LAETITIA AVGVSTI. Joy, standing l., holding r. wreath, l. resting on javelin or anchor.	S   P C	20.	Col. 23. Hunter.
132	2. B.	MONETA AVG. Moneta, standing l., holding r. scales, l. cornucopiae.	S   P C	21.	Gnechi.
133	* 2. C.	As above.	S   P C	21.	Col. 25. Hunter, etc.
134	3. B.	As above.	S   P C	23.	Patterson.

135	1. Radiate, draped bust 1.	PAX AVG. Peace, standing 1. holding r. olive branch, l. vertical sceptre.			20.	Coh. 36. Lincoln.
136	1. B.	As above.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	21.	Bodleian.
137	* 2. B.	As above.	[Pl. XIII. 4.]	$\frac{S   P}{C}$	20, 21, 22, 23.	Coh. 31. Hunter, etc.
138	* 2. C.	As above.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	21, 22.	Gnecchi.
139	3. A.	As above.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	21.	Coh. 33. Hunter. Bodleian.
140	IMP C ALLECTVS PF IN AVG. A.	As above.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	22.	Coh. 34. Hunter.
141	IMP C ALLECTVS PIVS FELIX AVG.	As above.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	21.	Lincoln.
142	* 2. A.	As above, but sceptre transverse.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	21.	R. & F.
143	* 2. B.	As above.		$\frac{S   P}{C}$	21, 22.	Coh. 37. Lincoln. R. & F.

\* See also uncertain mint.

MINT CAMULODUNUM—continued.

BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
144	* 2. C.	As above.	S   P C	20, 21.	Hunter. Lincoln.
145	3. A.	As above.	S   P C	21.	Coh. 40. B. M.
146	3. B.	As above.	S   P C	21, 22.	Hunter. Lincoln.
147	2. A.	As above, but Peace holds r. globe.	·   · C		Coh. 41. R. & F. Old Catalogue.
148	IMP C ALLECTVS P F AVGG. C.	PAX AVGGG. Peace, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. vertical sceptre. [Pl. XIII. 3.]	·   · C	23.	B. M.
149	* <sup>10</sup> 2. A.	PROVID AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. globe, l. cornucopiac. [Pl. XIII. 2.]	S   P C	21.	Coh. 44 R. & F., etc.
150	* 2. B.	As above.	S   P C	22, 23.	Hunter. K. M.

THE COINAGE OF ALLECTUS.

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151	2. B.	As above, but Providence holds l. transverse sceptre. [PL XIII. 5.]	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	24.	Webb.
152	1. B.	PROVID AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. staff which rests on ground between globe and foot, l. cornucopiac.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	23.	Lincoln.
153	* 2. B.	As above, staff sometimes points to globe.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	21, 23.	Coh. 46. Hunter. Lincoln, etc.
154	2. C.	As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	21.	Lincoln.
155	IMP C ALLECTVS FEIX(?) AVG. A.	As above.	$\cdot \frac{1}{C}$		Coh. 49. R. & F. Old Catalogue.
156	IMP C ALLECTVS PIV FEL AVG. B.	As above.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Coh. 47. B. M.
157	3. C.	As above, but globe between staff and foot.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	21.	W. H. Robinson.
158	* 2. A.	PROVIDE AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. globe, l. transverse sceptre.	$\frac{S}{C} \mid \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Coh. 50. Mon. Brit., xvii. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See also uncertain mint.

MINT CAMULODUNUM—*continued.*

BRONZE—*continued.*

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
159	1. C.	PROVIDENTIA AVG. As above.	S   P — C	22.	Coh. 57. B. M.
160	* 2. C.	As above.	S   P S   P — C — CL	21, 22.	Coh. 56. B. M. Hunter. Fitz- william, etc.
161	3. C.	As above.	S   P — CL	24.	Lincoln.
162	1. C.	As above, but Providence holds 1. cornu- copiae.	S   P — C	22.	Coh. 53. Fitzwilliam. R. & F.
163	* 2. A.	As above.	S   P S   P — C — CL	21, 22.	Coh. 51. B. M., etc.
164	* 11 2. C.	As above.	S   P — C	20, 21, 22.	B. M., etc.
165	3. B.	As above.	S   P — C	22.	B. M.
166	3. C.	As above.	S   P — C	22.	Featherston- haugh. Lincoln.

167	* 1. C.	PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. staff, which rests on ground between globe and foot, or points to globe, l. cornucopine.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$		Coh. 54. R. & F. Old Catholique.
168	* 2. C.	As above. [Pl. XIII. 6.]	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}   \frac{P}{CL}$	20, 21, 22.	Coh. 55. Hunter. K. M., etc.
169	[IMPCA]LLECTVS P F AVGG. C.	As above, but Providence holds r. anchor.	$\frac{P}{C}$	20.	Webb.
170	2. C.	ROMAE AETERN. Rome, seated in temple with seven columns.	$\frac{P}{C}   \frac{P}{MSC}$	20.	Coh. 60. Hunter.
171	2. B.	SALVS AVG. Health, standing l., feeding serpent twined round and raising itself from altar, hold- ing l. vertical sceptre.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Lincoln.
172	2. A.	SPES PVBL. Hope, walking l., holding r. flower, l. hand lifting robe.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Evans.
173	2. A.	SPES PVBLICA. As above.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Coh. 69. Hunter.

<sup>11</sup> See also uncertain mint.

MINT CAMULODUNUM—continued.

BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
174	2. C.	As above.	S   P C	22.	Fitzwilliam.
175	2. C.	TEMPORA FELIC. Happiness, standing l., holding r. short caduceus, l. cornucopiae.	S   P CL	22.	Coh. 70. Hunter.
176	1. C.	TEMPORVM FELIC. As above, but caduceus long.	S   P C	22.	Coh. 73. B. N.
177	2. C.	As above.	S   P C	21, 22.	Coh. 72. Hunter. Lincoln. R. & F.
178	* 2. C.	TEMPORVM FELICI. As above.	S   P C	22.	Colchester. Found at Colchester.
179	2. C.	TEMPORVM FELICIT. As above.	S   P S   P C CL	21, 22.	Coh. 74. Evans. Lincoln.
180	* 2. C.	TEMPORVM FELICITAS. As above.	S   A CL		Akerman, 60.



181	3. A.	VICTORIA AVG. Victory, walking r., holding r. wreath, l. palm.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$	22.	Coh. 76. B. M.
182	Not given.	[V]ICTORI GER. Trophy, between two seated captives.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$		Stevenson's <i>Dictionary</i> , p. 38.
183	2. C.	VIRTUS AVG. Mars, helmeted, in military attire, standing r., holding r. vertical spear, l. hand resting on buckler.	$\frac{S}{C}   \frac{P}{C}$	21.	Coh. 78. Hunter.
184	IMP C ALLECTVS AVG. G.	VIRTUS AVG. Galley, l., mast, cordage, rudder. Rowers. 2. 2. 7. 7. Oars. 7. 8. 5. 10.	$\cdot   \cdot$ QC	18, 19.	Coh. 83. Hunter. Lincoln. R. & F.
185	* 1. C.	As above; galley to l. or r. Rowers. 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 5. 6. Oars. 5. 6. 7. 6. 9. 10. 5.	$\cdot   \cdot$ QC	17, 18, 19.	Coh. 82. B. M. Bodleian, K. M., etc.

MINT CAMULODUNUM—continued.

BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
186	* 2. C.	As above. Rowers. None. " 4. " 5. " 6. " 2. " 3. " 4. " 4. " 4. " 5. " 5. " 6. " 5. " 6. " 7. " 7. " 7. " 7. " 10. " 12. [Pl. XIII. 10, 12.]	·   · — C — ·   · — Q C —	18, 19.	Coh. 81. B. M. Hunter. Musée de Picardie (found near Amiens), etc.
187	1. C.	As above, but steersman standing aft; 6 rowers, 5 oars, and rudder.	·   · — Q C —	18.	Stroehlin.
188	* 2. A.	As above, but without mast.	·   · — Q C —	19.	Coh. 85. Lincoln.
189	* 2. C.	As above. Rowers indistinguishable; 7 oars.	·   · — Q C —	18.	Colchester. Found at Colchester.

190	2. C.	As above. Galley l.; mast, cordage, 3 rowers, 7 oars, rudder, tower on bows surmounted by ensign.	·   · QC	19.	Bizot.
191	2. C.	As above. Galley l.; mast, cordage, 4 rowers, 5 oars, rudder; winged Victory, standing l. on bows, holding r. wreath, l. palm.	·   · QC	19.	Coh. 84. Hunter. Evans. Lincoln.
192	2. A.	VIRTUS AVG. Neptune, nude, seated l. on galley l., hold- ing r. anchor; 6 oars, rudder.	·   · QC	19.	B. M.
193	2. A.	VIRTUS EXERCIT. Four military ensigns.	·   · SPC	21.	B. M.

MINT UNCERTAIN.

BRONZE.

194	IMP C AVG. C.	IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter, nude, standing l., mantle on l. shoulder, holding r. thunderbolt, l. ver- tical sceptre.	S   P —	20.	Coh. 11. Hunter.
195	12 2. C.	LAETITIA AVG. Joy, standing l., holding r. wreath, l. jave- lin or anchor.	S   P —	22.	Lincoln.

<sup>12</sup> See London and Colchester.

MINT UNCERTAIN—continued.  
BRONZE—continued.

No.	Obverse legend and type.	Reverse legend and type.	Mint-marks.	Size.	Authorities.
196	13 2. B.	ORIENS AVG. Sun, radiate, semi-nude, standing l., r. hand raised, l. holding globe.	S   P —	23.	Coh. 27. Hunter.
197	14 2. B.	PAX AVG. Peace, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. vertical sceptre.	·   · S   P — C		Coh. 31. Lincoln.
198	1. A.	PAX AVG. As above, but sceptre transverse.	S   P not visible	21.	Lincoln.
199	14 2. A.	PROVID AVG. Providence, standing l., holding r. globe, l. cornucopiae.	S   P —	21.	Coh. 44. Musée de Picardie. (Found near Amiens.)
200	14 2. C.	PROVIDENTIA AVG. As above. [Pl. XIII. 7.]	S   P —	22.	B. M.
201	2. C.	SALVS AVG. Health, standing l., feeding serpent twined round and raising itself from altar, holding l. vertical sceptre.	S   A —	22.	Coh. 64. Hunter.
202	2. A. Bust in high relief, with pointed beard; probably barbaric.	VICTORIA AVG. Victory, walking l., holding r. wreath, l. palm. [Pl. XIII. 8.]	·   · —	22.	Webb.

COINS PUBLISHED BY COHEN, WITHOUT RECORD OF MINT-MARKS.

BRONZE.

203	3. C.	LAETIT AVG. Joy, standing l., holding r. wreath, l. resting on anchor.		Coh. 16.
204	IMP C ALLECTVS AVG. A.	LAETITIA AVG. Galley.		Coh. 19.
205	IMP C ALLECTVS P F INV AVG. A.	PAX AVG. Peace, standing l., holding r. olive branch, l. vertical sceptre.		Coh. 35.
206	2. A.	PIETAS AVG. Piety, standing l. by altar, holding r. patera, l. box of perfumes.		Coh. 43.
207	IMP C ALLECTVS PIVS FELIX AVG. A.	PROVID AVG. Providence, standing l., pointing with staff at globe at her feet l., holding l. cornucopiae.		Coh. 48.
208	2. C.	PROVIT AVG. As above.		Coh. 59.

<sup>13</sup> See London.

<sup>14</sup> See London and Colechester.

P. H. W.

## IX.

### THE COINAGE OF HENRY V.

(See Plates XIV.-XVI.)

At the death of Henry IV on March 21, 1413, he was succeeded by his son, Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales, under the title of Henry V. Although the character of the latter in his earlier years seems to have been wanting in seriousness, he appears to have acted as President of the Council which practically carried on the government of the country from the year 1409, when the health of his father began to fail, until his death. It may therefore be possible that the change which historians usually record to have taken place in his conduct at his accession, may not have been quite so sudden as we have been led to believe. It was the Council under his presidency who, after considering how all the neighbouring countries had "debased" their coinage, decided to try the effect of a like policy in England, which resulted in the statute enacted by the Parliament assembled at Westminster for the purpose in November, 1411, by which the weight of the coins of both gold and silver were reduced. As we have seen, this statute was at first only a tentative measure, to continue to the end of two years, after which time it was to cease if found to be "contrary to the good and profit of the king and his realm." In the Parliament

held in the first year of Henry V the alterations made in the standard of the coins by this ordinance were now permanently established by an indenture between the king and Lodowick or Lowys John, Master and Worker of the Mints of London and Calais,<sup>1</sup> thus showing that, although the Act had only been in force about half of its probationary time, its success had been so conclusively proved as to avoid all necessity of waiting for the expiry of the two years for which it was provisionally passed. With the accession of Henry V the new coinage would doubtless have been found still in progress. There is, however, in the Mint accounts published by Ruding, an absence of any record of bullion brought to the Mint or coined between the fourteenth and fifteenth years of Henry IV and the fifth year of Henry V. It is therefore probable that little more was done at the beginning of the latter's reign than to complete the coinage of the bullion in hand with the dies already in use; but I believe that, although many fresh dies were not engraved, an alteration to mark the new reign *was* actually made on those already in use. This alteration, as I said in writing of the Coins of Henry IV, I believe to have been the punching of a mullet either—as in the case of nobles and groats—at the wrist or on the left breast, or, in the case of smaller coins, where a pellet had been originally. The “mullet,” as it has usually been called—although I know of examples (the earliest, I believe) where it has more the appearance of a five-leaved flower—is a mark which we find on the coins of Henry V all through his reign;<sup>2</sup> and this is, I venture to think, a strong reason for believing it to

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<sup>1</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 256.


<sup>2</sup> On the latest silver coins it is omitted, but it is retained on the gold.

have been the mark specially selected to distinguish the coins struck after his accession. Even the "broken annulet" (of which more later) has not nearly so continuous and complete a run on his coins.

A noble in my collection, of exactly similar type to the last, which I ascribed to Henry IV, having an annulet on the rudder and the mint-mark a cross with circular sinking in centre, has at the king's wrist a mullet, or rather a five-leaved flower pierced in the centre, which has all the appearance of being a later addition to the die. The groat in the Lawrence Collection (see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V. Pl. V. 7) is also, in my opinion, a very remarkable example of a coin struck from a die made for Henry IV, and converted into one for his successor by the simple process which I have suggested. I also drew attention to the penny described in Hawkins (326) and in the Montagu Sale Catalogue (Lot 493), together with another in my own collection from the Sainthill and Montagu Collection (final portion, Lot 165), on both of which there are good reasons for believing that a mullet has been punched over a pellet on the dies from which they were struck.

In addition to the coins which are undoubtedly struck from dies of Henry IV with the alteration that I have suggested, after (as I believe) the accession of Henry V, there are a few others, also very rare, of which the attribution must, I fear, still remain uncertain. They are practically all either nobles or groats, and, while I am inclined to attribute them to Henry V, I think it quite possible that they were struck previous to his accession. In any case they are most probably some of the latest pieces of the new coinage which was doubtless still in progress at the death of Henry IV. The



groats have the same peculiar bust, with emaciated features, as on some which I ventured to give to Henry IV; but while on the latter the mint-mark was a distinct cross pattée with sunk circle in centre, the groats and nobles now in question have as mint-mark a plain cross —not pattée—with slight v-shaped indentations at the extremities, but still retaining the sunk circle (not piercing) in centre. Although reasons are not wanting for attributing this rare variety of noble and groat to Henry IV, I incline to the opinion that they belong to his successor, because we find the same peculiar initial cross or mint-mark on half-groats and pennies, which, from other emblems and characteristics upon them, I believe to belong, without doubt, to Henry V. It is an unfortunate circumstance that, while the smaller coins of both Henry IV and Henry V all have marks and emblems which greatly assist in their attribution, very few groats that I have seen, which come between the Roman N groats of Henry IV and the mullet-marked groats, have any distinctive mark to assist us, save what we can make out from the character of the cross dividing the legend over the king's head, or at the beginning of the legend on the reverse. I have a specimen which has a quatrefoil after the king's name and after POSVI, but on four other specimens these marks do not occur. They are not, however, of the assistance which is obtainable from marks in the field, such as the annulet and pellet of Henry IV's groats or of the subsequent mullets, broken annulets, &c.; for the quatrefoil is found in the positions mentioned on coins very presumably attributable to Henry IV, and on the reverse, down to late in the reign of Henry V. In default, therefore, of any evidence, so far, by which we

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can with absolute certainty decide as to which are the latest nobles and groats of Henry IV and the earliest of those of Henry V, I propose to ascribe to the latter, at quite the commencement of his reign, all that have the plain initial cross or mint-mark with the sunk circle in the centre. The coins on which it occurs are all rare, and, without presuming to be absolutely certain on the point, I think we may, without much risk (in default of evidence to the contrary), assume them to have been struck immediately, or almost immediately, after the accession of Henry V. The mullet appears to have been almost directly adopted as a distinguishing mark on his coins, but it is usually accompanied on the gold and silver coins smaller than groats by the broken annulet or other symbol.

I have endeavoured to find some reason for the adoption and long continuance of the mullet, but without much success. The Great Seal used during the reign of Henry V is identical with that used by Henry IV and Henry VI. It only differs in the king's name from that known as the Bretny seal of Edward III. I have examined impressions of this seal belonging to all four reigns, and I find that in every case there is a mullet in one of the small top compartments on the right of the canopy over the seated figure of the king.<sup>3</sup> Although I have been unable to trace the meaning of the mullet in connection with Edward III, it would almost certainly have some significance to account for its appearance on his Great Seal. We know from history that Henry V, from the moment of his accession, aspired to emulate and to follow

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<sup>3</sup> In the corresponding compartment on the left side of the canopy there is an object which, owing either to faulty impressions or intentional defacement, appears to be impossible of certain identification, although Wyon describes it as a small globe.

in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Edward III. A badge or emblem connected with the latter would therefore readily commend itself as a distinguishing mark for his coins.<sup>4</sup> If this be its origin, it would go far to account, not only for its adoption, but for its continuance (on the gold coins, at least) by Henry V throughout the whole of his reign.

The other distinguishing mark of the so-called "broken annulet" would appear to have been adopted almost immediately after the mullet, and the two are almost always found on all coins of Henry V, with the exception of groats and (generally) of halfpence. No satisfactory explanation has, I believe, so far been found for the meaning of the "broken annulet," and yet, like the mullet, it is so persistently used, and its peculiarity of form is so remarkable, that it is difficult to believe that it had not some special significance. In default of a better one, I suggest the following explanation, which, although it may appear somewhat fanciful, may not, if we consider the period, be very improbable. The young king was no sooner on the throne than his thoughts turned to the loss of the greater part of the French dominions of Edward III, whose lawful heir he professed to consider himself, and he determined not to rest until he had regained all that his great-grandfather had either possessed or claimed. The "broken annulet" or circle, out of which a portion is wanting, I take (for the purpose of this suggestion) to be intended to symbolize the king's actual possessions with the portion wanting to complete the dominions which he believed to be his by right of inheritance as heir of Edward III; and I suggest that

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<sup>4</sup> In the inscription on his tomb in Westminster Abbey, Edward III is called "*Anglorum flos*" amongst his other titles.

this symbol was placed upon the money as a means of generally conveying to the people Henry's intention of recovering the lost portions of his inheritance. In *Num. Chron.*, Vol. XII. p. 8, M. Adrien de Longpérier, in describing an unedited mouton d'or of Henry V, which he believes to have been struck in Normandy at the time of his invasion of that country in 1415, quotes from a manuscript preserved in the Mint at Paris the following passage: "Item fit ouvrer ledit Henry en la même année (1415) en les monnoyes de Normandie, moutonnets pareils à ceux du roy Charles, la grande croix de devers la croix anglée de quatre fleur-de-lys. Et ont été faits a 22 karats et pour différence ont trois C sur la bannière." M. de Longpérier proceeds to state that on a drawing in the margin of the manuscript the banner of the mouton of Henry is figured having one C on the streamer. This interesting piece of evidence affords, I venture to think, valuable support to my suggestion, as it shows that Henry took the earliest opportunity of displaying to the French people the same symbol of his aspirations, and in the same manner, as he had done to the English people. Mr. Neck, in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. XI. p. 120, quotes M. de Longpérier's paper in support of the broken annulet being specially and exclusively the emblem of Henry V (in which I entirely agree), but he does not suggest any meaning for it. To complete my theory as to the broken annulet and its meaning, I may here say (although it is somewhat anticipating) that the *complete* annulet, so prominently identified with the coinage at the end of the reign of Henry V, was, in my opinion, adopted as a symbol to the people of the triumphant completion of the task that he with their support had undertaken at the beginning of his reign.

The Mint accounts given by Ruding for this reign do not afford so much information as in others, and are probably less complete. The following are the only records:—

## AMOUNT OF BULLION BROUGHT TO THE LONDON MINT.

	Silver.			Gold.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Michaelmas, 5th year, to } March 30, 7th year ... }	...	2,102	19 4	...	2,864	5 4
March 30, 10th year, to } March 30, 3rd year of } Henry VI ... }	...	6,924	0 10	...	19,746	11 0½

The accounts of the quantity of bullion coined are wanting except for the latter of the above two items, where they exactly agree.


If we may assume with probability that the “new coinage” of Henry IV was still in progress on the accession of Henry V, although the available bullion was becoming exhausted, we can account for both the rarity and character—so closely resembling the latest of Henry IV—of the coins which I have ventured to attribute to the beginning of the reign of Henry V. The only very early noble that I have seen exactly resembles the last that I described as attributable to Henry IV, with the exception of the mint-mark, which in this case is a *plain* cross with sunk circle in centre, and it also has a pierced mullet or flower on the king’s wrist, which appears to be an addition. It has no “broken annulet” on the side of the ship, but the annulet on the rudder is as on the last noble of Henry IV (see **Pl. XIV. 1**). I have seen no half-noble or quarter-noble corresponding to this noble. The groats of this early type are of coarse work, and the portrait of the king is peculiar and unattractive (**Pl. XV. 1**), the face having quite a negro type as to the features. They read

ΗΑΝΡΙΚ ΔΙ ΓΡΑ ΡΑΧ ΑΝΘΛΙΑ Ξ ΦΡΑΝΚ, with cross before described as mint-mark. Some have a quartrefoil after ΗΑΝΡΙΚ and POSVI, but this is the case with only one out of four in my collection. A very rare variety of these early groats has a mullet in the centre of the king's breast, and reads ΦΡΑΝ. It has a quartrefoil after POSVI. The half-groats, which appear to correspond with the earliest groats, have a bust of the king with long thin neck, and with the egg-shaped swelling in the centre very prominent. They have no mullet on the breast, but the broken annulet now appears at the left side of the crown (see Pl. XV. 4). A novel feature of these half-groats is that the tressure has twelve arcs instead of nine, as on practically all previous half-groats. Another early variety of the half-groat, with the same peculiar cross or mint-mark, has a mullet on the centre of the king's breast. The shoulders of the bust are peculiarly high—more so on one side than on the other, while the head is slightly posed to the right (see Pl. XV. 5). There is no quartrefoil after ΗΑΝΡΙΚ, and rarely after POSVI on these early half-groats. The earliest pennies resemble very closely the last half-groat as regards the portrait and pose of the king's bust (Pl. XV. 6). They have the same cross as mint-mark, and there is a mullet to the left and a broken annulet to the right of the crown.<sup>5</sup> These pennies read ΑΝΘΛ Ξ ΦΡΑΝ. The pellets on the reverse are united in the centre, forming trefoils.<sup>6</sup> Halfpennies with the last-named peculiarity are probably some of the earliest

<sup>5</sup> A very small pellet is also found below the mullet on the left side of the hair. I have three examples of these pennies, and the pellet is distinct on all three; it is, however, so small that if only found on a single coin there might be a doubt as to its being an intentional mark.

<sup>6</sup> A rather later variety omits the small pellet on the obverse, and reads ΑΝΘΛ Ξ ΦΡΑΝΚ.

examples, and they all have a broken annulet at each side of the king's head. I have a halfpenny, to which I alluded in connection with the Coinage of Henry IV (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V. p. 283), which has a mullet on the right of the head, and a pellet or annulet on the left. This is, however, one of the examples of coins which, in my opinion, are from dies made for Henry IV, and altered after his death by the addition of the mullet. I may here say that I have not taken these coins into account as any special issue of Henry V, believing them to be merely isolated examples of existing dies in good order, which were utilized simultaneously with others actually made for Henry V. Examples in proof of this are to be found in the groat in the Montagu Collection (Lot 503 in Catalogue, first portion), subsequently in the Murdoch Collection (Lot 324 in Catalogue), which, although having the obverse from an early die of Henry V with the mullet on the breast, has the reverse from a die of Henry IV with the Roman N in "London." It is also seen on a half-groat (now in the British Museum) described by Mr. Neck and illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. XI. Pl. III. 11. If, as I have suggested, we may attribute the coins of early character of Henry V—all of which are rare—to a continuance and finishing up of the great new coinage begun in the last year of Henry IV, we shall probably be right in assuming that the bulk, if not all, of the ordinary mullet-marked coins in both gold and silver is the result of the bullion recorded to have been brought to the London Mint between the fifth and the seventh years of this reign. These coins have a decidedly later character about them, and those of silver especially are of neater work, and are usually more carefully struck than those of the earliest

type. The king's portrait also, although entirely conventional, no longer has the forbidding character of the early coins. The ordinary mullet-marked groats of the second type (Pl. XV. 2) have all a mullet on the king's left breast, and the pierced cross mint-mark, , with circular hole in the centre, quite differing from the earlier sunk circle. The plain cross sometimes described on these coins is, I think, merely an accidental variation owing to weak striking or wear, by which the piercing is obliterated. The greater part read  $\text{H}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{G}\text{R}\alpha' \times \text{R}\alpha \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\alpha \times \text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha$ , or in a few cases  $\text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha$ . A scarcer variety reads  $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}' \times \text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha$ , or very rarely  $\text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha$ . The groats of earlier character of this second type have a large quatrefoil after  $\text{H}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha$ , and on the reverse after  $\text{POSVI}$ , while the large cross dividing the pellets and legends is thicker than on the later varieties (Pl. XV. 3). These no longer have the quatrefoil after the king's name, although it is retained on the reverse after  $\text{POSVI}$ , but in a smaller and neater form (Pl. XV. 10, 12). The half-groats have the mullet in the centre of the king's breast, and the same pierced cross mint-mark. They read  $\text{H}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{G}\text{R}\alpha' \times \text{R}\alpha \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\alpha \times \text{F}$ , or  $\text{FR}$ . All have a broken annulet to the left of the crown, but I have seen none with a quatrefoil after  $\text{H}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha$ , as on some of the groats. The tressure contains ten or eleven arcs. On the reverse there is always a quatrefoil after  $\text{POSVI}$ , and the pellets are usually united (Pl. XV. 11). London pennies of the second type have all the pierced cross mint-mark on the obverse, and have the broken annulet to the right and the mullet to the left of the crown. They read  $\text{H}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha \text{ R}\alpha \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}$  or  $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\alpha \times \text{F}$ . On the reverse there is sometimes a quartrefoil after  $\text{DIVITAS}$  or  $\text{LONDON}$ , occasionally after both (Pl. XV.



7).<sup>7</sup> Halfpennies have all a broken annulet at each side of the crown or hair, but have no other special distinguishing marks (Pl. XV. 13). Farthings of this reign have no special feature to distinguish them from early examples of Henry VI, but specimens of coarser work, corresponding more in this respect with larger early coins of Henry V, are probably his. They are, however, seldom met with.

The gold coins of what I have termed the second type do not afford many variations. All have the mullet and broken annulet in practically the same positions. On the nobles the mullet is at the king's wrist, and the broken annulet on the ship's side rather to the right. There is always a quatrefoil over the sail of the ship and at the head of the lion in one of the quarters of the reverse, usually the second. The pierced-cross mint-mark appears on the reverse only (Pl. XIV. 2). On the half-nobles the mullet is above the king's shield, but the broken annulet is in the same position on the side of the ship. It is also placed on the reverse at the head of the lion in the second quarter of the cross, instead of the quatrefoil as on the nobles (Pl. XIV. 7).

Quarter-nobles of this issue have the mullet to the right and the broken annulet to the left of the shield on the obverse. They also have the cusps of the tressure terminating in annulets (Pl. XIV. 6). The coins of all the denominations of the second type, although practically in all respects similar as regards details, are, if we closely examine and compare a number of them, distinctly

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<sup>7</sup> These pennies of the second type are of smaller size than the early ones, or even those of subsequent issues; very little of the head and shoulders is seen, and the cross on the reverse is short and thick.

varied in the character of their work; some, including the groats with the quatrefoil on the obverse, being evidently earlier than others. This can easily be accounted for if we assume the second type to have prevailed during the coinage of the considerable amount of bullion recorded to have been brought to the Mint from the fifth to the seventh year of this reign, and will also account for the coins themselves being the least rare of those of Henry V previous to the annulet coinage.

I now come to what I will call the third type of this reign, which, particularly in silver, is much scarcer than the preceding one. Its special distinguishing marks are the *complete* annulet and a trefoil composed of three pellets joined together. Coins of every denomination are found with one or other, if not both, of these marks upon them, the only exceptions being groats and farthings. The workmanship is of a superior description, and they are all neatly struck coins. Although none of the coins of this type are new to English numismatists, they have not, I believe, been previously grouped together, as their similarity of detail and character appears to require, and I think that they are worthy of a little special attention. The nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles still retain the mullet, and the noble also retains the broken annulet on the side of the ship, in addition to the *complete* annulet, which is placed above the king's wrist, between the arm and the sword.<sup>8</sup> There are at least three varieties of the noble of this type. The most usual one retains the quatrefoil at the head of the

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<sup>8</sup> The new feature, the trefoil of pellets, is now introduced between the king's shield and the prow of the ship.

lion in the second quarter of the reverse, but has no other mark. Another has, in addition to the quatrefoil, a large pellet at the tail of the lion in the first quarter (PL. XIV. 4); a third has a trefoil of three pellets united in the first quarter of the reverse (PL. XIV. 3); while a noble in the Montagu Collection (Lot 176, final portion) ascribed to Henry VI (to whose coinage the reverse undoubtedly belongs) has an obverse of Henry V in all respects similar to those I have been describing above, but with the trefoil of pellets on the side of the ship as well as at the prow. Half-nobles of this type are without the broken annulet on the side of the ship, but they have the complete annulet in the second quarter of the reverse, and either the large pellet (PL. XIV. 10) or the trefoil of pellets in the first quarter exactly as on two of the nobles which I have just described. A very fine example of the half-noble with the trefoil was in the Montagu Collection (Lot 500 in Catalogue), and is described as an unpublished variety. The quarter-noble has the trefoil of pellets to the left and the mullet to the right of the shield on the obverse. As I have said, there is no example of a groat that can be specially identified with this type; but as none of the principal coins are without the mullet, we may with little doubt ascribe some of the later and more neatly executed mullet-marked groats to the issue under consideration. The half-groat appears to be unpublished, but there is a specimen in the British Museum, and I myself have another (PL. XVI. 1). It has an *unbroken* annulet to the left, and a trefoil of pellets to the right of the crown.

The penny is described by Hawkins (No. 5) as being in the Longstaffe Collection. It is remarkable as reading


DI GRA, which is very exceptional on pennies previous to the reign of Edward IV, although there are some examples of both Edward III and Henry IV. This penny has the trefoil of pellets to the right of the crown, and the mullet to the left, as on most pennies of this reign. I myself have a penny of this variety. It is unfortunately much clipped, but there appears to be a quatrefoil after LONDON, a detail not noticed by Hawkins on the Longstaffe specimen. The halfpenny of this trefoil issue is also found, and is considerably less rare than the half-groat or penny, although it is much scarcer than the ordinary halfpennies. It has the trefoil of pellets to the left of the head, and the annulet on the right (Pl. XVI. 4).

Another rare issue, which we may perhaps call the fourth type, I will place here, as I think that, owing to its almost exact similarity of portrait and character to those of the annulet coinage, there can be no doubt as to its proper position. This type is apparently confined to the silver coins, and its main characteristic is the disappearance of the mullet, annulet, and trefoil on the obverse, although the quatrefoil still retains its place after POSVI on the reverse. The groat might almost be mistaken for the earliest type previous to the use of the mullet, by a casual observer, owing to the similarity of legend and details, and it is only by the workmanship that the difference can be detected. This is, however, very easy after a little study of the evolutionary process observable on the coins between the commencement and the end of this reign (Pl. XVI. 6). The mint-mark is, of course, another sure guide, the pierced cross on this fourth type being identical with that on the annulet coins. The half-groat has usually

eleven arcs to the tressure, and there is a line under the bust which appears to indicate drapery (Pl. XVI. 7). The whole style is so identical with the earliest London annulet half-groat, that any one who did not look for the annulets on the reverse would assume it to be one. The penny of this issue is that curious variety reading DI GRA, for which no one appears to have previously found a satisfactory position. Its evident similarity of style to the annulet coins apparently induced Mr. Neck to describe it as a London annulet penny of Henry V or VI, although, as he states, it has no distinguishing mark. He had not, however, noticed the corresponding groat and half-groat, which to me make the position of the penny quite clear (Pl. XVI. 8). I have seen no halfpenny with the same reading as the penny, but I have a very remarkable farthing which I think must belong to this issue. It reads HENRIC × DI GRA, and the bust is exactly the same as that on an annulet farthing. This farthing was in the Lawrence Collection, and was there assigned to the light coinage of Henry VI, which the reading would justify; but its weight (3½ grains) and the similarity of the bust to that of the annulet farthing compel me to think that its proper position is with these latest pre-annulet coins of Henry V.

In several of the Parliaments of this reign, particularly in Henry's eighth and ninth years, great complaints were made as to the increasing scarcity of money, particularly of "white" money, for which various reasons were assigned; and it was apparently felt that a vigorous effort to remedy the deplorable state of the currency could no longer be deferred. Accordingly we find that in the ninth year a new Master of the Mint,

Bartholomew Goldbeter, together with a new engraver of the dies, Gilbert Vanbranburgh, were appointed for this purpose, and they would appear to have taken immediate measures for the issue of a large and well-executed coinage. An indenture was entered into between the king and Bartholomew Goldbeter, dated February 13, 1422, six months and a half before the death of Henry, which occurred on August 31 of the same year. This indenture provided, in minute detail, for the issue of the new coinage, at both the "Tour de Loundres" and "la Ville de Caley;" and there appears no reason to doubt that a certain amount of new money was struck in accordance with its provisions before the death of Henry V. A distinct variety of portrait is observable on the rare issue which I last described, on which all emblems are omitted save the quatrefoil after POSVI on the reverse; and this portrait I take to have been originated by the new die engraver, Gilbert Vanbranburgh, as it continues on the subsequent larger issues for some little time. This last issue, and possibly the previous one with the trefoil of pellets (although the portrait on the silver is rather different), I am inclined to think, were in a measure preliminary essays for the new coinage—at least, so far as the silver was concerned. The complete annulet appears on trefoil coins, which, together with their neat workmanship and good striking, seem to connect them with the new departure at the Mint under Goldbeter and Vanbranburgh. Henry V had now reached the summit of his ambitions, having been acknowledged by the Treaty of Troyes as Regent of France and heir to the crown of that kingdom, while the capital and the greater part of the country were in his power and subject to his sway.

The issue of a large new coinage would offer a fitting opportunity, at this time, for displaying the emblem of the triumphant realization of his hopes, and, as he imagined, of the vindication of his rights. I therefore suggest this as the meaning of the final adoption of the annulet to the exclusion of all other symbols on this last and most important coinage of the reign of Henry V. On this coinage the pierced cross mint-mark is continued exactly similar to that on the previous issues. This particular form of the pierced cross, , which, in writing on the Coins of Henry VI I connected with type I, I believe specially distinguishes the coins struck before the death of Henry V, or, if after, from dies prepared for his coins. The second type of the pierced cross, with the quarters formed by curved lines, which accompanies other slight variations, distinguishes, as I have previously said, the dies prepared *after* the death of Henry V.

In gold the coins of all three denominations with the pierced cross of Henry V of the distinct annulet coinage, are of the first rarity. I think it possible, however, that the nobles with the trefoil of pellets and the mullet, which also have an annulet between the arm and the sword of the king, may have been struck at the commencement of the annulet coinage during the life of Henry V. They are certainly much less rare than the silver coins with the trefoil of pellets, a fact which appears to indicate that, while the latter were only a preliminary trial, almost directly abandoned, the nobles continued to be struck at first as the regular type for the coinage, or as long as the dies were serviceable.

There *are* specimens of the noble, half-noble, and quarter-noble of unmistakable annulet type. The only

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noble at present known is in the British Museum (PL. XIV. 5). It has the pierced cross mint-mark, but the mullet is no longer at the wrist of the king's sword-arm. It is not, however, abandoned, although it is relegated to a secondary position after the king's name on the obverse legend, and on the reverse after the first word of the legend. Annulets are elsewhere used as stops between each word of the legends on both faces. The half-noble is similar in having no emblem on the king's wrist, and in having annulets between every word of both legends, except between the first and second, where, as on the noble, we find a mullet. The quatrefoil still remains above the sail of the ship. Of this coin a very fine specimen was in the Montagu Collection (Lot 516 in Catalogue). This half-noble was previously in the Brice Collection (PL. XIV. 11).

There are several specimens of the quarter-noble known with the pierced cross mint-mark and annulet stops on both sides, corresponding to the noble and half-noble (PL. XIV. 9). I described these coins in connection with the gold coinage of Henry VI (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. III. p. 292), and must apologize for somewhat repeating what I then said. These very rare coins must belong to Henry V, but quite at the end of his reign. The pierced cross disappears on the annulet gold coins of Henry VI, and its place is taken by the fleur-de-lys. We find, however, one or two rare examples where an obverse die of a Henry V annulet noble or half-noble has been used in conjunction with a Henry VI reverse having the fleur-de-lys mint-mark. I do not think there are any gold coins with the annulet at the king's wrist, or in the spandril of the reverse tressure (the special marks of the common annulet coins) which can be



ascribed to Henry V, and I therefore make no further allusion to them.

The silver annulet money attributable to Henry V, with his special pierced cross, is found in every denomination (if we, perhaps, except farthings) from both the London and Calais Mints. They are all rather scarce, particularly those of Calais. The abundance of the ordinary Calais groats of Henry VI, and the fact that no attempt had been made to separate the annulet coins of Henry V and VI, has caused the comparative scarcity of the Calais coins of the former to be entirely overlooked. This was also assisted by the old idea that the reading *ANGLIA* in full distinguished the coins of Henry V, whereas it is found on a large number of groats (including that of York) which are certainly attributable to Henry VI. It will, however, be found that Calais silver coins with the plain cross pierced of type I. are not easy to obtain (Pl. XVI. 10, 12, 13); and this, I think, is a strong argument in favour of assigning them to Henry V, seeing that the Calais Mint could hardly have been got into working order until very near to the time of his death. Goldbeter would have certainly been obliged to spend some time in arranging for the new coinage at the Tower Mint before he could attend to that of Calais, and the early London annulet groats are probably less rare than those of Calais. Later, after the accession of Henry VI, the position was entirely changed, Calais coins being found in immense numbers even to this day, while those of London are all more or less rare.

Before leaving the coins of the London Mint of Henry V, it is worthy of remark how difficult it is to obtain them in anything like a fine state, which affords interesting corroboration of the justice of the complaints

of the Commons, not only as to the scarcity of white money, but as to its bad condition owing to "clipping, washing, and other falsifying."

#### THE PROVINCIAL EPISCOPAL MINTS.

As the Episcopal Mints of Durham and York only struck pennies, I thought it best to speak of these coins apart from those of the London and Calais Mints.

#### YORK.

Pennies corresponding with practically all the London issues that I have described are found of the York Archiepiscopal Mint. The variety which I take to be the earliest has a thin, long-necked bust with the hair more away from the head than is usual on pennies of Henry V. Unfortunately, the two specimens which I have are both in poor condition and badly struck, making it difficult to describe them, and impossible to completely read them. There is a broken (?) annulet to the right, and a mullet to the left of the head, while there is a small pellet to the left of the crown. The latter feature is also found on the earliest London pennies, but on them it is below the mullet, while on those of York it is above it. These coins appear to read *ANGLIA* *SE*, as on those of London. The reverse has the usual open quatrefoil with a pellet in the centre, but there is no special feature to note. A variety, possibly a little later, of the first type has the head and hair more nearly like the early London pennies, and, like them, it has the broken annulet and mullet placed higher, but the pellet

is not found. This variety reads  $\text{HENRICVS REX ANGLIA}$ . On the reverse of my specimen there appears to be a quatrefoil after  $\text{QVITVS}$ , and the pellets are rather pointed and united. The second type exactly corresponds with the second type of London. These pennies from both mints are smaller in size than those of the first type, but the design is compact and neatly executed. They read  $\text{HENRICVS REX ANGLIA}$ , and have the pierced cross mint-mark with broken annulet and mullet at the sides of the crown. The cross on the reverse, as on those of London, is thick in proportion to its length, and the pellets are slightly united.

The penny of the third type, with the trefoil of pellets to the right of the crown, is found of the York Mint also, of precisely similar character to that of London, where the dies were doubtless made by the same hand. They read  $\text{ANGLIA SS F}$ . There are no York pennies exactly corresponding to the fourth type of London, although we find some, on which the trefoil of pellets is continued, that have the portrait of the last type, which I take to be that originated by the new die-engraver Vanbranburgh, appointed in the ninth year of Henry V. A few of the coins with this portrait are well executed, and the dies were no doubt of London make, but there are a larger number of more or less coarse execution, some being quite barbarous. They all, however, have the trefoil of pellets to the right of the crown, and they are no doubt from locally made dies. These later types of trefoil pennies all read  $\text{HENRICVS REX ANGLIA}$ , and they were doubtless continued into the reign of Henry VI, when we find the trefoil changed to a fleur-de-lys.

## DURHAM.

The Episcopal Mint of Durham, after being apparently quite inactive since the early part of the reign of Richard II, was, we know from historical evidence, again at work after the new or light coinage of Henry IV was undertaken. Cardinal Langley was then bishop, and his episcopate continued throughout the whole of the reign of Henry V. When the new coinage of Henry IV was undertaken, he would no doubt have applied for the dies to which he was entitled. He engaged a certain Mulkin of Florence as his moneyer, who is recorded to have been still coining in Durham during 1416-17, and he most probably retained his position until the end of the reign of Henry V. After this event the Durham Mint appears to have been again inactive for some years, until the period of the rosette coinage of Henry VI. There is recorded evidence that in the third year of Henry VI, and also in the preceding year, the house of Mulkin of Florence had been let, and that the Mint was producing nothing. The extreme rarity of Durham pennies would seem to indicate that the Cardinal did not receive the dies long before the death of Henry IV, and that very few were consequently struck from them. No doubt immediate steps would have been taken to obtain fresh dies from the new king, and a penny which I have recently acquired—so far, I believe, unique—would appear to be from dies that must have been sent as quickly as possible after the accession of Henry V. The coin is so remarkable that I will describe it.

*Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pattée  $\text{H}\bar{\text{E}}\text{N}\bar{\text{R}}\text{I}\bar{\text{Q}} \times \text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\text{X} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\text{L}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$   
 Bust of Henry IV, with outstanding hair and slipped trefoil on breast exactly as on London light pennies of Henry IV. There is an annulet to the l. and a mullet to the r. of the crown.

*Rev.*— $\text{Q}\bar{\text{I}}\text{V}\bar{\text{I}}\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}\text{S} \div \text{D}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\text{L}\bar{\text{M}} \times$  Usual cross with pellets pointed and united in centre as on early London, York, and other Durham pennies of Henry V.

The obverse of this coin is identical with one of London illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V. Pl. XII. 9. In both instances I believe that the mullet has previously been a pellet on the die, and that both are evidence of the conversion of Henry IV into Henry V dies by the simple process that I have suggested. In the case of the Durham coin in question I believe the obverse die to have been a converted London one sent hastily with a new Henry V reverse to replace the now obsolete one of Henry IV. The next variety in order corresponds with the early type I. pennies of London and York, and reads,  $\text{H}\bar{\text{E}}\text{N}\bar{\text{R}}\text{I}\bar{\text{Q}} \times \text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\text{X} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\text{L}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{FR}$  or  $\text{F}$ ; the bust is that of the earliest type of Henry V, and there is a mullet and broken annulet to the left and right of the crown respectively. The reverse reads,  $\text{Q}\bar{\text{I}}\text{V}\bar{\text{I}}\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}\text{S} \div \text{D}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\text{L}\bar{\text{M}} \times$ ; the pellets are pointed and united; the whole exactly as on the coin with the Henry IV bust. A very similar variety reads,  $\text{H}\bar{\text{E}}\text{N}\bar{\text{R}}\text{I}\bar{\text{Q}}\text{V}\text{S} \text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\text{X} \text{A}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\text{L}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$ , and has a quatrefoil at the end of the obverse legend. This coin probably corresponds with what I have called type II. of London, although, except in the legend, it is almost identical with type I. The reverse is the same with quatrefoil after  $\text{Q}\bar{\text{I}}\text{V}\bar{\text{I}}\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}\text{S}$ , but the pellets are round and close together. Another variety is found which, from the portrait and

from having the *unbroken* annulet to the right of the crown, can, I think, be distinctly identified with type III. of London, which has the complete annulet and trefoil of pellets on the half-groat and smaller pieces. This Durham penny reads,  $\text{H}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\times\text{R}\text{EX}\ (\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{C}\text{E}\text{F}\text{R}\text{A}\text{N})$ , and has the mullet and complete annulet at the sides of the crown. The reverse has the same reading as the last two, with quatrefoil after  $\text{Q}\text{U}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}$ .<sup>9</sup>

The last variety to refer to belongs, undoubtedly, to the annulet coinage. It has the identical portrait of the earliest annulet coins of London, Calais, and York. It has the mullet to the left and complete annulet to the right of the crown, and its legend,  $\text{H}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{V}\text{S}\ \text{R}\text{EX}\ \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{C}\text{A}$ , still further identifies it with the annulet pennies from the other mints. On the reverse the reading is the same, but there is no longer a quatrefoil after  $\text{Q}\text{U}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}$ . There is, however, an annulet between the pellets in the first quarter. I must here apologize for having on a former occasion (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. II. p. 234) ascribed this penny to Henry VI. From the mint-mark I now feel sure that the die was made for coins of Henry V, even if, as is possible, it may have continued in use for a little time after his death. These Durham annulet pennies are very rare, and I have never as yet seen one in anything like fine condition. Their rarity is accounted for, as also the reason for there being no annulet Durham pennies from dies made for Henry VI, by the records

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<sup>9</sup> Hawkins, on the authority of Mr. Longstaffe, describes a Durham penny having in the centre of the reverse Cardinal Langley's shield, pale of six. There appears to be no other record of this remarkable coin, and as it did not, I think, appear in the sale of Mr. Longstaffe's coins, it was presumably not in his own collection, but quoted from a possibly dubious example. (See *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. VII. p. 28.)

which exist as to the house of Mulkin of Florence being let, and the Episcopal Mint producing nothing during the second and third years at least of Henry VI.<sup>10</sup>

To summarize and conclude, a few general remarks may be desirable, and I will now make them as briefly as possible. At the accession of Henry V an important coinage was still in progress, which it was necessary to complete so far as the bullion in hand for the purpose required. How near this completion was it is now impossible to say, but it was probably approaching. In order not to delay matters, and at the same time to mark the commencement of a new reign, certain marks were (I suggest) immediately decided on, the principal one, if not the only one, at first being a mullet or star. By punching this upon existing dies made for Henry IV, they were, as I have suggested, at once made available for coins of Henry V. At the same time, new dies would probably have been put in hand specially for Henry V, with the new emblems adopted by him, and *some* of these were no doubt at first used with dies of Henry IV still fit for service. On dies *made* for Henry V the previous cross pattée, with or without the sunk circle, was discarded, and in its place was substituted the plain cross with, at first, the sunk circle, which later developed into the regular circular piercing in the centre. This plain pierced cross with square angles at the intersection continues throughout the whole of this reign, and I believe it to be the sure test of coins struck from dies made for Henry V, and for him alone. This makes the

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<sup>10</sup> I am indebted for several details connected with the Durham coins of Henry IV, V, and VI to the paper by the late Mr. Longstaffe. (See *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. VII.)

annulet coins attributable to him comparatively scarce, or even rare, as might be naturally expected, and thus they corroborate my theory.

Some of the earliest groats are without the mullet, which appears hardly consistent with what I have said about this emblem, but it will have been observed that just at this period a peculiar feature of the groats is an absence of any special mark or emblem apart from the initial cross, although on coins of all other denominations distinctive marks are, I believe, always found.

After the introduction of the mullet it is found on all coins of either gold or silver except halfpennies, but it disappears on the London silver coins of the rare issue previous to the annulet coinage. It, however, continues on those of York and Durham of the same type, and is even found on the annulet coins of the two latter places from the Episcopal Mints.

The "broken annulet" was introduced on the half-groats and smaller pieces of silver, as also on the gold coins almost immediately, and it becomes the complete annulet on the rather late type with the trefoil of pellets, and on all subsequent coins.

The quatrefoil is found on some early groats after HENRIC, but it soon disappears. It is also found on some of the early coins after POSVI, but not on all. Later on, however, and up to the annulet coinage, it is never wanting on the reverse after POSVI, until it gives place to the annulet. The quatrefoil after CIVITAS is also found on some London and Durham pennies. On the latter it occasionally also occurs at the end of the obverse legend. This emblem, although one very specially identified with the coins of Henry V, began to appear on some of the latest groats attributable to Henry IV.



A noticeable feature of this reign is the early introduction of the French title on the pennies, where it is almost always found in a more or less abbreviated form up to the type which I assume to mark the advent of Bartholomew Goldbeter to the Mint. On one very rare variety of groat, which reads, *ANGL & FRANQIA*, the idea would appear to have been to give special honour and prominence to the French title. Perhaps its cessation on the latest issues of pennies was due to the provisional dropping of the title, and its change to that of heir, in accordance with the Treaty of Troyes.

Before concluding, I must acknowledge having in this paper almost unavoidably repeated much that has been said by others previously and at various times on the same subject, but my excuse must be a desire to bring together all the information available by recalling what may have been, partially at least, forgotten of the work of earlier authorities, with the addition of all that in the light of later studies and discoveries has become available since their time. I allude specially to the papers bearing on the coins of Henry IV, V, and VI, by the Rev. Assheton Pownall and Mr. W. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe, in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. VII.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

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In the following list I have endeavoured to give, from all sources published and unpublished, the now known varieties of every type in all denominations of both gold and silver; but in order to keep within reasonable limits, I have not taken note of merely accidental variations in

positions of stops and other trifling details, unless they appear to have a special significance:—

EARLY TRANSITION COINS IN SOME INSTANCES  
STRUCK FROM ALTERED DIES OF HENRY IV  
OR FROM ONE DIE OF HENRY IV AND ONE  
OF HENRY V.

NOBLE.

*Obv.*— $\text{h}\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q}' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \text{GR}\text{A}' \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANQ}' \times \text{D}\text{NS} \times$   
 $\text{HYB} \oplus$  Three ropes from stern, two from prow  
of ship; annulet on rudder; ornaments, lion,  
two lis, lion, two lis; pierced five-leaved flower  
on mullet at king's sword-arm.

*Rev.*—M.M.  $\oplus$   $\text{IHQ} \times \text{AVTAM} \times \text{TRANSIENS} \times \text{PAR} \times$   
 $\text{MADIV} \times \text{ILLORV} \times \text{IBAT}$  Usual floriated cross;  
quatrefoil at side of crown in second quarter.

[Pl. XIV. 1.]

I have found no corresponding half-noble.

Quarter-noble (see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. III.  
Pl. IX. 8).

GROATS.

1. *Obv.*— $\oplus \text{h}\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q}' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{GR}\text{A}' \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{ANGLI}\epsilon \times \text{FRANQ}' \times \times$   
Emaciated bust, with large lips and flattened  
nose, with swelling on neck; arches of tressure  
above crown not fleured; single saltire stops  
between words and three at end of legend.

*Rev.*— $\oplus \text{POSVI} \times \text{DEV}\text{M} \times \text{ADIVTOR}\epsilon' \times \text{M}\epsilon\text{VM} \text{—} \text{DIVITAS} \times$   
 $\text{LONDON} \times$  Usual cross and pellet.

[Pl. XV. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—As last, but quatrefoil after  $\text{h}\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q}$ ; arch of  
tressure on breast not fleured.

*Rev.*—As last, but quatrefoil after  $\text{POSVI}$ .

3. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\bar{\text{Q}}' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{G}\text{R}\bar{\text{A}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{A}}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\bar{\text{G}}\text{L}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \Xi \times \text{F}\text{R}\bar{\text{A}}\text{N}\bar{\text{Q}}' \text{✠}$   
 Bust of Henry IV; annulet to l., pellet to r. of crown; slipped trefoil on cusp of tressure on breast, and at end of legend; mullet on r. shoulder.

(This is an obverse die of Henry IV adapted for Henry V by the stamping of a mullet.)

- Rev.*—✠  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{V}\text{I} \times \text{D}\bar{\text{A}}\text{V}\bar{\text{M}} \times \text{A}\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{T}\text{O}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}' \times \text{M}\bar{\text{A}}\text{V}\bar{\text{M}} \text{—} \text{A}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}\text{S} \times \text{L}\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\bar{\text{N}} \times$  Usual cross and pellets.

(This is an ordinary reverse die of Henry V.)  
*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V., Pl. V. 7.

L. A. Lawrence.

4. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\bar{\text{Q}}' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{G}\text{R}\bar{\text{A}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{A}}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\bar{\text{G}}\text{L}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \Xi \times \text{F}\text{R}\bar{\text{A}}\text{N}$   
 Emaciated bust; mullet in centre of breast on point of cusp of tressure.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced (?) cross, legend, &c., all as last.

#### HALF-GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross with sunk circle in centre.  $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\bar{\text{Q}}' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{G}\text{R}\bar{\text{A}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{A}}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\bar{\text{G}}\text{L}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{F}' \times$  Emaciated bust, with long, thin neck; swelling in centre of neck; twelve arcs of the tressure all fleured except those above crown and that nearest crown to left, where there is a broken annulet.

*Rev.*—No M.M.  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{V}\text{I} \times \text{D}\bar{\text{A}}\text{V}' \times \text{A}\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{T}\text{O}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{M}\bar{\text{A}} \times$

2. *Obv.*—As last, but eleven arcs to tressure, those on breast and above crown not fleured.

*Rev.*—All as last, but large quatrefoil after  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{V}\text{I} \text{✠}$   
 [Pl. XV. 4.] Sir John Evans.

3. *Obv.*—M.M. cross with sunk circle in centre; legend as No. 1; twelve arches to the tressure, all fleured except two on breast; mullet in centre of breast and broken annulet to l. of crown; bust l. with slight pose to r.

*Rev.*—M.M. cross with sunk circle.  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{V}\text{I} \text{✠} \text{D}\bar{\text{A}}\text{V}\bar{\text{M}} \times \text{A}\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{T}\text{O}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{M}\bar{\text{A}}\text{V}' \text{—} \text{A}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\bar{\text{A}}\text{S} \text{L}\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\bar{\text{N}}$  Pellets joined in centre. [Pl. XV. 5.] M. B.

## PENNIES : LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross with sunk circle in centre.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{a}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{a}}\text{x} \times \text{L}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{L}} \times \text{F}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}$  Bust with head slightly posed to r.; broken annulet to r. of crown, and mullet to l., with small pellet below at side of hair.

*Rev.*— $\text{C}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \times \text{L}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}} \times$  Pellets joined in centre forming trefoil. [Pl. XV. 6.]

The M.M. on *obv.* is more distinct on another otherwise less perfect specimen which I have.

2. *Obv.*—M.M. cross pattée.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{a}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{I}} \times \text{G}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{R}\bar{\text{a}}\text{x} \times \text{L}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{L}}$  Bust of Henry IV, with slipped trefoil on breast; annulet to l., mullet to r. of crown.

(This is an altered obverse die of Henry IV; the mullet being substituted for the pellet. I have a Henry IV penny from the unaltered die. See *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V. Pl. XIII. 5.)

*Rev.*— $\text{C}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \text{ L}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}$  (a Henry V reverse die). (See Hawkins, No. 326, and Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 493.)

3. *Obv.*—M.M. cross pattée.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{a}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{a}}\text{x} \times \text{L}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{a}}$  Bust of Henry IV; slipped trefoil on breast; annulet to l., mullet to r. of crown.

*Rev.*— $\text{C}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \text{ L}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}$  Pellets united at points in centre.

F. A. W., from Sainthill and Montagu Collections.

This is also a coin with the obverse from a Henry IV die on which the mullet has been substituted for a pellet (see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V. Pl. XIII. 9).

## YORK.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross with circular sinking.  $\text{HENRIC REX ANGLIA} \times \times \text{F}$  Tall bust, with thin neck and rather outstanding hair; pellet at l. of crown; annulet at r. of hair, and mullet at l.

*Rev.*— $\text{QVITVS} \times \text{EBORAC}$  Cross and pellets, with open quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre.

This description is made up from three specimens, one in the British Museum and two in my own collection, all in poor state and defective in parts.

## DURHAM (TRANSITIONAL).

*Obv.*—Cross pattée.  $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLIA}$  Bust of Henry IV, with slipped trefoil on breast, exactly similar to that on some of his London pennies; mullet (over pellet?) to r. of crown, and annulet to l.

*Rev.*— $\text{QVITVS} \div \text{DVNOLM} \times$  Quatrefoil after  $\text{TVS}$ ; pellets united by points in centre of groups.

This coin is in my collection. It is unpublished and, so far, unique.

## LONDON HALFPENNY.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross pattée?  $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGL}$  Bust as on some halfpennies of Henry IV; mullet to r. of crown, and (probably) annulet to l. Owing, however, to an injury to the coin, there is an uncertainty as to the latter object, which *may* possibly be a pellet.

*Rev.*— $\text{QVITVS LONDON}$  Usual cross and pellets.

This coin is from the Lawrence Collection, and is the only one that I know of.

## FIRST AND SECOND TYPES OF HENRY V.

## NOBLE.

*Obv.*— $\text{h}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\bar{\text{c}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{I}}' \times \text{G}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{L}}' \times \text{FRAN}\bar{\text{C}} \times \text{DN}\bar{\text{S}}' \times \text{h}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{B}}' \times$  King in ship, with mullet at wrist of sword-arm; three ropes at stern, and two at prow of ship; broken annulet on side, and quatrefoil over mast and sail; ornaments on ship, lion, two lis, lion, two lis.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{I}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{M}} \times \text{T}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{S}} \times \text{P}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}} \times \text{M}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{V}}' \times \text{I}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{V}}' \times \text{I}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}$  Usual floriated cross, with h in centre panel; quatrefoil at head of lion in second quarter. [Pl. XIV. 2.]

## HALF-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{h}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\bar{\text{c}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{I}} \times \text{G}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{L}}' \times \text{FR} \times \text{D} \times \text{h}\bar{\text{Y}}$  King in ship, with mullet over shield; three ropes from stern, and one from prow of ship; broken annulet on side of ship; ornaments, lion, two lis, lion, two lis.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{D}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{n}\bar{\text{a}} \times \text{I}\bar{\text{n}} \times \text{F}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}} \times \text{T}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{O}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \times \text{M}\bar{\text{A}}$  Usual floriated cross, with h in centre panel; broken annulet in second quarter. [Pl. XIV. 7.]

2. *Obv.*—As last, but legend ends  $\text{FR} \times \text{h}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{B}}$ .

*Rev.*—All as last.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 1, but legend ends  $\text{FR} \times \text{D} \times \text{h}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{B}}$ .

*Rev.*—As No. 1, but broken annulet in first quarter.

## QUARTER-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross pierced.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\bar{\text{c}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{L}}' \times \text{FRAN}\bar{\text{C}}$  Shield of arms of France and England quarterly, within tressure; lis above, mullet to r., and broken annulet to l. of shield; annulets as terminals to cusps of tressure; two small pellets at r. side of shield, near third quarter.

*Rev.*—M.M. cross pierced.  $\alpha\chi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\beta\iota\tau\nu\mathbf{r} \times \text{IN} \times \text{GLORIA}$   
Usual floriated cross. [Pl. XIV. 6.]

2.—All as No. 1, but legend on reverse reads  $\alpha\chi\alpha\lambda\tau\alpha\beta\iota\tau\nu\mathbf{r}$ .

3. *Obv.*—M.M. plain cross.  $\mathbf{h}\alpha\mathbf{n}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{q} \times \mathbf{R}\mathbf{E}\mathbf{X} \times \mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{G}\mathbf{L} \times \mathbf{\text{X}}$   
 $\mathbf{F}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  Broken (?) annulets at each side of  
shield; annulets at points of cusps of the tressure.

*Rev.*—M.M. plain cross, usual type and legend; quatre-  
foil stop between each word and after  $\text{GLORIA}$   
M. B.

This coin is in poor condition and badly struck, making its details rather uncertain, but, perhaps, it would be more correctly placed amongst the transition coins.

## GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross with circular sinking.  $\mathbf{h}\alpha\mathbf{n}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{q}' + \mathbf{D}' \times$   
 $\mathbf{G}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{\Lambda} \times \mathbf{R}\mathbf{E}\mathbf{X} \mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{G}\mathbf{L}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\text{X}}$   $\mathbf{F}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{Q}'$  Bust of the  
king within tressure of nine arches, all fleured  
but one on breast; mullet on l. breast; quatre-  
foil after  $\mathbf{h}\alpha\mathbf{n}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{q}$ .

*Rev.*—M.M. cross with circular sinking.  $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{S}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{i} + \mathbf{D}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{M} \times$   
 $\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{D}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{\Lambda}' \times \mathbf{M}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{M} - \mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{S} \times \mathbf{L}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{D}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{N} \times$   
Usual cross and pellets. [Pl. XV. 3.]

2. *Obv.*—As last, but reads  $\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{G}\mathbf{L}' \times \mathbf{F}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{Q}$ .

*Rev.*—All as last.

3.—All as No. 1, but M.M. pierced cross. Obverse reads  
 $\mathbf{F}\mathbf{R}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{Q}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ , and no quatrefoil after  $\mathbf{h}\alpha\mathbf{n}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{q}$ .

4.—All as No. 1, but M.M. plain (?) cross. Small single  
saltire in place of quatrefoil after  $\mathbf{h}\alpha\mathbf{n}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{q}$  and  
 $\mathbf{P}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{S}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{i}$ . [Pl. XV. 2.]

5.—All as No. 1, but M.M. pierced cross.

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P

## HALF-GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{D}\text{I}' \times \text{G}\rho\text{A}' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L}\text{\AA} \times \text{FR}$  Bust of king within tressure of eleven arcs, all fleured; mullet in centre of breast, and broken annulet to l. of crown.

*Rev.*— $\text{POSVI} + \text{D}\alpha\text{VM} \times \text{\AA}\text{DIVTOR}\alpha \times \text{M}\alpha \times \text{—}\alpha\text{IVITAS} \times \text{\AA}$   
LONDON  $\times$  Pellets in angles of cross united by points in centre.

- 2.—All as last, but reads on obverse  $\text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L}\text{\AA} \times \text{F}$ .  
[Pl. XV. 4.] Sir John Evans.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 1, but M.M. plain cross. Legend ends  $\text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L}\text{\AA} \times \text{F}$  Two cusps of tressure on breast, and two above crown not fleured.

*Rev.*— $\text{POSVI} + \text{D}\alpha\text{VM} \text{\AA}\text{DIVTOR}\alpha \times \text{M}\alpha\text{V}' \text{—}\alpha\text{IVITAS} \times \text{\AA}$  LON-  
DON [Pl. XV. 11.]

4. *Obv.*—M.M. (?) cross pierced.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{D}\text{I} \times \text{G}\rho\text{A}' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L}\text{\AA} \times \text{F}$  Bust, with long neck and egg-shaped swelling; mullet on r. breast; cusps of tressure above crown not fleured.

*Rev.*— $\text{POSVI} + \text{D}\alpha\text{VM} \text{\AA}\text{DIVTOR}\alpha \times \text{M}\alpha \text{—}\alpha\text{IVITAS}$  LON-  
DON. M. B.

- 5.—All as last, but obverse legend ends  $\text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L}' \times \text{F}$

## PENNIES : LONDON.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{I}\alpha \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L} \times \text{FR}\text{\AA}\text{n}\alpha$  Mullet to l., broken annulet to r. of crown; swelling in centre of neck.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{IVITAS} \times \text{LONDON} \times$

2. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross. Legend ends  $\text{\AA}\text{n}\text{\AA}\text{L}\text{\AA} \times \text{F}$  Shorter neck to bust, and swelling smaller.

*Rev.*—As last, but cross thicker.



3.—As No. 1, but obverse legend ends  $\Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}$ .

4. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q} \times \text{R}\text{A}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}' \times \text{F}$   
Bust, with very short neck and no swelling;  
mullet to l., broken annulet to r. of crown.

*Rev.*— $\text{Q}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S} + \text{L}\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N} +$  Quatrefoil after  $\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}$  and  
 $\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$ ; thick cross dividing pellets.  
[Pl. XV. 7.]

This coin is of smaller size than those first described.

5.—As last, in regard to size and details, but obverse legend ends  $\Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}$ , and on reverse there is no quatrefoil after  $\text{L}\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$ .

#### YORK.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross with circular sinking.  $\text{h}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q} \times \text{R}\text{A}\text{X} \times$   
 $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}' \times \text{F}\text{R}\text{A}\text{N}\text{Q}$  Bust as on the London  
penny, with mullet to l., and broken annulet  
to r. of crown; long neck with swelling in  
centre.

*Rev.*— $\text{Q}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S} \text{ A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{R}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}$  Cross with quatrefoil enclos-  
ing pellet in centre; pellets in angles united.

2. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross. Legend ends  $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A} \times \text{F}$   
Bust, with shorter neck, and altogether practi-  
cally similar to No. 2 of London.

3. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced (?) cross.  $\text{h}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q}\text{V}\text{S} \times \text{R}\text{A}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}$   
Bust, with thin neck and broad shoulders;  
mullet to l., broken annulet to r. of head.

*Rev.*— $\text{Q}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S} \times \text{A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{R}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}$

4. *Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{Q}' \times \text{R}\text{A}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}$   
Emblems as before, smaller-sized coin; bust, with  
short neck and no swelling; practically similar  
to No. 5 of London.

*Rev.*—As last.

## DURHAM.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross with circular sinking.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{i}\alpha\text{v}\varsigma \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{G}\text{L}\text{i}\alpha \text{†}$  Quatrefoil at end of legend; bust, with long neck and shoulders; mullet to l., and broken annulet to r. of head.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{i}\text{v}\text{i}\text{T}\alpha\text{S} \text{†} \text{D}\text{V}\text{N}\text{O}\text{L}\text{M} \times$  Usual cross and pellets.  
[Pl. XV. 9.]

- 2.—M.M. cross  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{i}\alpha \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{G}\text{L}\text{i}\alpha \text{‡} \text{FR}$  In all other respects similar to No. 1.

## LONDON HALFPENNY.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross pierced.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{i}\alpha \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{G}\text{L}$   
Broken annulet at each side of head.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{i}\text{v}\text{i}\text{T}\alpha\text{S}$  LONDON Usual cross and pellets.

## LONDON FARTHING.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{i}\alpha \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{G}\text{L}$  Bust, and beading to inner circle of coarse work; no emblems or mark.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{i}\text{v}\text{i}\text{T}\alpha\text{S}$  LONDON No special mark. M. B.

## THIRD TYPE, OR TREFOIL ISSUE.

## NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\rho\text{i}\alpha' \times \text{D}\text{I} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{\AA} \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{\AA}\text{n}\text{G}\text{L} \text{‡} \text{FR}\text{\AA}\text{n}\alpha \times \text{D}\text{N}\text{S} \times \text{h}\text{y}\text{B} \text{†}$  King in ship, with three ropes from stern and two from prow; ship ornaments, lion, two lis, lion, two lis; mullet under king's wrist; annulet between arm and sword; annulet on side of ship; trefoil of pellets between shield and prow of ship; quatrefoil over sail of ship.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{i}\text{h}\alpha \times \text{\AA}\text{V}\text{T}\alpha\text{M} \times \text{T}\text{R}\text{\AA}\text{N}\text{S}\text{i}\alpha\text{N}\text{S} \times \text{P}\text{\AA}\text{R} \times \text{M}\alpha\text{D}\text{i}\text{V}' \times \text{I}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{R}\text{V}' \times \text{I}\text{B}\text{\AA}\text{T}$  Quatrefoil at head of lion in second quarter.

2. *Obv.*—All as last.

*Rev.*—As last, but large pellet at tail of lion in first quarter. [Pl. XIV. 4.]

3. *Obv.*—As No. 1, but two ropes from stern, and one from prow of ship.

*Rev.*—As No. 1, but trefoil of pellets at tail of lion in first quarter. [Pl. XIV. 3.]

4. *Obv.*—All as No. 1, but trefoil of pellets on side of ship in place of annulet.

The reverse of this coin is from a die of the annulet coinage of Henry VI, but the obverse is evidently from a die of Henry V, although, as far as I am aware, no other example of this variety is known.

British Museum from Montagu Collection (Lot 160, final portion).

#### HALF-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\bar{\text{d}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{i}}' \times \text{G}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{a}}\text{x} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{L}} \times \text{F} \times \text{D} \times \text{h}\bar{\text{y}}$   
King in ship; mullet above shield; two ropes from stern, and one from prow; ship ornaments, lion, two lis, (?) lion.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{D}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{a}} \times \text{n}\bar{\text{a}} \times \text{I}\bar{\text{n}} \times \text{F}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{a}} \times \text{T}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{O}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \times \text{m}$  Trefoil of pellets at tail of lion in first quarter; complete annulet at head of lion in second quarter.

Montagu Collection, from the Bryce Collection.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but trefoil between shield and prow of ship.

*Rev.*—As No. 1, but legend ends  $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$ ; pellet over lion in first quarter; annulet over lion in second quarter. [Pl. XIV. 10.] Sir John Evans.

## QUARTER-NOBLE.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRAN}\alpha$  Lis above; trefoil of pellets to l., and mullet to r. of shield; annulet terminals to cusps of tressure, except below shield.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\alpha\text{X}\alpha\text{VLT}\alpha\text{BITVR} \times \text{IN} \times \text{GLOR}\text{IA}$   
Usual floriated cross. [Pl. XIV. 8.]

## GROAT.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{DI}' \times \text{GR}\alpha' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRAN}\alpha\text{IA}$  Bust, with mullet on l. breast.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross. Usual legend; small quatrefoil after POSVI. [Pl. XV. 12.]

I give this groat to this issue (although the trefoil is wanting), owing to the neatness and character of its work, which point to its belonging to a late coinage.

## HALF-GROAT.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross pierced.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{DI}' \times \text{GR}\alpha' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{ANGL}\alpha \times \text{F}$  Bust of rather different character, with mullet on breast; complete annulet to l. of crown, trefoil of pellets to r.

*Rev.*—Quatrefoil after POSVI; legend ends  $\text{m}\alpha$ .  
[Pl. XVI. 1.]


## LONDON PENNY.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross pierced.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\alpha' \times \text{DI}' \times \text{GR}\alpha' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{F}$  Bust resembling that on the half-groat; mullet to l., and trefoil of pellets to r. of crown.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{IVITAS LONDON}$  Pellets close together and united in centre.

This coin is of small size, and the cross is short and thick.

## YORK PENNY.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\text{r}\text{i}\alpha \times \text{r}\alpha\text{x} \times \text{\pi}\text{n}\text{g}\text{l}\text{i}\alpha$    
 Bust exactly similar to the London penny;  
 mullet to l., and trefoil of pellets to r. of  
 crown.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{i}\text{v}\text{i}\text{t}\alpha\text{s} \times \alpha\text{b}\text{o}\text{r}\text{\pi}\alpha\text{i}$  Usual quatrefoil and pellet  
 in centre of cross.

This York penny, like the similar one of London, is of small size, and the reverse cross is short and thick.

There are other York pennies much less scarce, with the mullet and trefoil, and of larger size, some apparently from local made and inferior dies, and others from superior dies made presumably in London (see **Pl. XVI. 2**). These pennies I believe to belong to what I have called the fourth coinage and to have been continued, from the local made dies at least, to a later period.

## DURHAM.

I have seen no Durham pennies that can with certainty be identified with the third, or trefoil issue.

## LONDON HALFPENNIES.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross pierced (?)  $\text{h}\alpha\text{n}\text{r}\text{i}\alpha \times \text{r}\alpha\text{x} \times \text{\pi}\text{n}\text{g}\text{l}$   
 Trefoil of pellets to l., complete annulet to r. of  
 head.

*Rev.*— $\alpha\text{i}\text{v}\text{i}\text{t}\alpha\text{s}$  LONDON Usual cross and pellets.  
**[Pl. XVI. 4.]**

2.—Same as No. 1, but trefoil is to the r. of head.

## FOURTH TYPE.

This is apparently confined to the silver coins, the last described gold coins being probably continued until the issue of the great annulet coinage, if not *actually* into the first part of it.

## GROAT.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\bar{\text{q}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{i}}' \times \text{G}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}' \times \text{R}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{x}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}' \times \text{F}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{c}}$  Late type of bust, without mullet on breast; all cusps of tressure fleured, except those above crown.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced (?) cross.  $\text{P}\bar{\text{o}}\text{s}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}} \div \text{D}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{m}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}' \times \text{M}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{m}} - \text{A}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}} \times \text{L}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{n}} \times$  Quatrefoil after POSVI. [PL. XVI. 6.]

## HALF-GROAT.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{i}}' \times \text{G}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}} \times \text{R}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{x}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}' \times \text{F}$  Bust of later character, with crescent-shaped sinking in neck, and indications of drapery below shoulders; cusps of tressure above crown and on breast, not fleured.

*Rev.*— $\text{P}\bar{\text{o}}\text{s}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}} \div \text{D}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{v}}' \times \text{A}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}' \times \text{M}\bar{\text{e}} \times - \text{A}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}} \times \text{L}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{n}} \times$  Quatrefoil after POSVI. [PL. XVI. 7.]

## PENNIES: LONDON.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}}' \times \text{D}\bar{\text{i}}' \times \text{G}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}} \times \text{R}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{x}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}'$  Bust, with "portrait" of the latest type; with crescent-shaped sinking in neck; no marks or emblems.

*Rev.*— $\text{A}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}} \text{ L}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{n}}$  No marks or emblems.  
[PL. XVI. 8.]

## YORK.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross pierced.  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{s}} \times \text{R}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{x}} \times \text{A}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}$  Bust, with similar "portrait" to the London penny; with mullet to l., and trefoil of pellets to r. of crown.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΒΙΤΑΣ × ΑΒΟΡΑΑΙ Usual type, with quatrefoil and pellet in centre of cross. [Pl. XVI. 2.]

There are many varieties of this penny, some (the scarcest) being well executed, while others are of coarser work, and some even barbarous. All are of fairly large size, and, although having the trefoil, I attribute them to this issue, and, perhaps later, for reasons previously given.

#### DURHAM.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross (?) pierced. ΗΑΝΡΙΑ × ΡΑΧ( × ΑΝΓΛΙΑ  
× F)R Mullet to l., complete annulet to r. of crown; bust, with "portrait" similar to London penny.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΒΙΤΑΣ + ΔΥΝΟΛΜ Quatrefoil after ΤΑΣ; pellets united by points in centre. [Pl. XVI. 3.]

This penny may possibly belong to the previous or trefoil issue, but I place it here on account of the portrait.

#### LONDON FARTHING (!).

*Obv.*—M.M. cross. ΗΑΝΡΙΑ × ΔΙ × Ε(ΡΑ ΡΑΧ) Bust resembling that on the annulet farthing.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΒΙΤΑΣ LONDON Usual cross and pellets.

This farthing, which is unpublished and probably unique, has been attributed by Mr. Lawrence to the light coinage of Henry VI, but for reasons given in this paper I think its probably more correct attribution is to this issue of Henry V.

## THE ANNULET COINAGE.

## NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}} \star \text{D}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}' \text{FR}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{o}}$   
 $\text{h}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{B}}$  King in ship, with two ropes from stern and one from prow; ornaments, lion, two lis, lion, two lis; no emblems, either in field or on ship; mullet after  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}}$ ; annulet stops between all other words of legend.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{I}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}} \star \text{A}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{o}}$   
 $\text{P}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}$  Usual floriated cross, with no emblems in the field; mullet after  $\text{I}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ; annulet stops between all other words. This coin is so far unique.

[Pl. XIV. 5.]

M. B.

2. *Obv.*—Similar to last; but reverse from a die of Henry VI, with M.M. lis and annulet in one spandril of tressure.

M. B.

In this paper I have given reasons for assuming that possibly some of the nobles described under the third or trefoil issue continued to be struck during the early part of the annulet coinage.

## HALF-NOBLE.

*Obv.*— $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}} \star \text{D}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}' \text{FR}$  Mullet after  $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{q}}$ ; annulet stops between all other words of legend. King in ship, with two ropes from stern and one from prow; ornaments, lion, two lis, lion, lis; quatrefoil over mast-head; no emblems in field.

*Rev.*—M.M. pierced cross.  $\text{D}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{e}} \star \bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{e}}$  Mullet after first word; annulets between all other words of legend; usual floriated cross, with no emblem in the field. [Pl. XIV. 11.]

Sir John Evans.



Another specimen in the Montagu Collection (Lot 516) omits the *n* in *in* of the reverse legend.

These two specimens are, so far, the only ones known.

#### QUARTER-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*—**M.M.** cross pierced. *hēnriq* \* *dēi* o *grā* o *rāx* o *anēl'* Shield, with *lis* above, within tressure of eight arcs, none of which are fleured; mullet after first word, and annulets between other words of legend.

*Rev.*—**M.M.** pierced cross. *exaltabitvr* \* *in* o *gloria*  
Mullet after first, and annulet after second word of legend; usual floriated cross.

[Pl. XIV. 9.]

Sir John Evans.

- 2.—Similar to last, but obverse legend reads *Di* instead of *dēi*.

About five or six specimens of these quarter-nobles are so far known.

#### GROATS: LONDON.

*Obv.*—**M.M.** pierced cross. *hēnriq* \* *di* \* *grā* \* *rāx* \* *anēliā* \* *frānq* Bust of the king, with egg-shaped swelling on neck; arches of tressure all fleured except those above crown; no emblems in field or elsewhere.

*Rev.*—**M.M.** cross pierced. *posvi* o *dēvm* \* *ndivtorē* \* *mēvm* Annulet after *posvi* - *divitās* \* *london* \* Usual cross and pellets; an annulet between the pellets in second and fourth quarters.

#### CALAIS.

*Obv.*—Similar to the groat of London, but there is an annulet over each shoulder of the bust.

*Rev.*—Similar to the groat of London, but inner legend reads *villā* \* *qālisia* \* [Pl. XVI. 10.]

## HALF-GROATS : LONDON.

*Obv.*—**M.M.** cross pierced.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{NRIQ}' \times \text{DI}' \times \text{GR}\Lambda' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{AN}\text{GL}' \times \text{F}$  or  $\text{FR}$  King's bust within tressure of eleven arcs, that on breast not fleured; slight indications of drapery under bust; no emblems in field or elsewhere.

*Rev.*— $\text{POSVI} \circ \text{D}\alpha\text{VM} \times \text{ADIVTOR}\alpha' \times \text{MA} \times - \text{QIVITAS} \times \text{LON-}$   
 $\text{DON} \times$  Annulet after  $\text{POSVI}$  and between pellets in second and fourth quarters.

## CALAIS.

*Obv.*—**M.M.** pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{NRIQ}' \times \text{DI}' \times \text{GR}\Lambda' \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{AN}\text{GLI}\alpha \times \text{F}$  Tressure of eleven arcs, that on breast not fleured; annulet at each side of neck; slight indications of drapery under bust.

*Rev.*—Similar to London half-groat, but inner legend reads  $\text{VILL}\Lambda \times \text{QALIS}' \times$  [Pl. XVI. 13.]

## PENNIES : LONDON.

*Obv.*—**M.M.** cross pierced.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{NRIQVS} \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{AN}\text{GLI}\alpha$   
 Bust of king, with indications of drapery; triangular spandrils in crown.

*Rev.*— $\text{QIVITAS LONDON}$  Annulet between pellets in second and fourth quarters. [Pl. XVI. 11.]

## CALAIS.

*Obv.*—**M.M.** and legend as on London penny; annulet at each side of neck.

*Rev.*— $\text{VILL}\Lambda \times \text{QALIS}' \times$  Annulet between pellets in second and fourth quarters. [Pl. XVI. 12.]

## YORK.

*Obv.*—**M.M.** pierced cross.  $\text{h}\alpha\text{NRIQVS} \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \times \text{AN}\text{GLI}\alpha$   
 Bust of king, with similar portrait to that on pennies of London and Calais, but no indications of drapery; mullet to l., and trefoil of pellets to r. of crown.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΥΙΤΛΣ ο ΑΒΟΡΛΑΙ Annulet after ΤΛΣ, and between pellets in first quarter; quatrefoil in centre of cross.

This coin is of neat work, and from presumably London made dies.

## DURHAM.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross. ΗΑΝΡΙΔVS ✕ ΡΑΧ ✕ ΑΝΔΛΙΑ Bust, with similar portrait to the preceding; no indications of drapery; mullet to l., and annulet to r. of crown.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΥΙΤΛΣ ΔΥΝΟΛΜ' ✕ Annulet between pellets in second quarter. [Pl. XVI. 9.]

## HALFPENNIES: LONDON.

*Obv.*—M.M. pierced cross. ΗΑΝΡΙΔ' ✕ ΡΑΧ ✕ ΑΝΔΛ No emblems.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΥΙΤΛΣ LONDON Annulet between pellets in second and fourth quarters.

## CALAIS.

*Obv.*—Similar to that of London, but annulet at each side of neck.

*Rev.*—VILL ✕ ΑΛΛΙΣ' ✕ Usual cross and pellets, with annulet in second and fourth quarters.

## FARTHINGS: LONDON.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross. ΗΑΝΡΙΔ ΡΑΧ ✕ ΑΝΔΛ Small, neat bust; no emblems.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΥΙΤΛΣ LONDON There are no annulets between the pellets, owing evidently to the size of the coin being too small for their introduction, but the identical similarity of the bust with that on the following Calais farthing makes the position of this London farthing unmistakeable.

## CALAIS.

*Obv.*—M.M. cross. HENRIQ REX \* ANGL Small, neat bust, with indications of drapery round shoulders; annulet at each side.

*Rev.*—VILLX CALIS \* Cross and pellets, but no annulets between them.

This farthing is unpublished, and is in my collection; there is, however, another in the British Museum.

The two farthings above described may quite possibly belong to the annulet coinage of Henry VI, but owing to their small size the differences of detail, which on the larger coins distinguish the two reigns, could not be shown upon them.

F. A. W.

## MISCELLANEA.



### HALF-CROWN OF CHARLES I, OF UNCERTAIN MINT.

Ruding (Pl. F, No. 3) gives an illustration of a half-crown of the same type as that shown above. He describes it as of an unknown country mint. Ruding's specimen, probably that now in the National Collection, has the mint-mark an anchor. The specimen here figured has on the obverse a triangle over an anchor placed horizontally, and on the reverse, a triangle. The obverse is unusual, but the special peculiarity of the coins consists in the square garnished shield on the reverse.

In May, 1904, in the *Numismatic Circular*, Mr. S. M. Spink illustrated the reverse of this coin, together with one bearing the same rare obverse type, but for that of the reverse, the usual Tower oval garnished shield. The obverses of both coins appear to have been struck from the same die, the same flaw being faintly indicated near the horse's leg, according to the illustration. The Tower coin being no longer in Mr. Spink's possession, I have been unable personally to compare these coins, but both were on view in the Murdoch sale, June 8, 1903, lots 134 and 135.

Mr. Spink, in describing these half-crowns, suggests that the Tower authorities took the obverse from Briot's half-crown of 1638, with the mint-mark an anchor (Ruding, Pl. xxii. No. 7), and thinks that Ruding Pl. F, No. 3 should decidedly be attributed to the same mint, basing this theory on the

similarity of the two obverses ; but he draws attention to the fact that the heavy scroll garniture on the square shield reverse is of an abnormal type, adding that its exact counterpart upon any other half-crown, either of London or provincial, may be sought for in vain. He has apparently overlooked Briot's very rare half-crown in the British Museum, described by Hawkins, p. 324, which bears the square shield on the reverse, and which I am of opinion was the true prototype of Ruding, Pl. F, No. 3. My coin, being of the same type on the obverse and reverse, I would suggest that these coins stand thus in relation to each other.

1. Briot's half-crown, mint-mark horizontal anchor ; reverse, square shield.

2. Ruding (Pl. F, No. 3), mint-mark horizontal anchor ; reverse, square shield. (Both these coins are in the British Museum.)

3. My coin, like Ruding's, but mint-mark triangle over horizontal anchor on obverse ; triangle on reverse.

4. Mr. Spink's Tower half-crown—same obverse and mint-mark triangle over horizontal anchor, but reverse, ordinary Tower oval shield (rather unusually large) with mint-mark triangle. Ruding's is possibly a rough reproduction of Briot's half-crown of 1638—mine and the Tower half-crown of 1639.

This change of mint-mark is a further argument in favour of the "Tower" theory ; for why should a country mint change the mint-mark from 1638 to 1639—anchor to triangle ? On the other hand, it is difficult to see why the Tower authorities should have issued a very few coins copied from one of Briot's rare types concurrently with the common issues of those two years. The appearance of these few known specimens does not suggest that they were patterns.

Are we, therefore, to class these coins with Ruding, as of uncertain country mints, or have we enough evidence to place them with the Tower issues ?

HELEN FARQUHAR.

X.

EARLY PARTHIAN AND ARMENIAN COINS.

NOTICE.

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and what does Mr. Wroth mean by it? Does he mean the original Parthia before Mithridates enlarged its borders by the conquest of some of their fairest provinces from the Seleucidan kings?—that is to say, does he mean the Parthia ruled over by the predecessors of Mithridates? or does he mean the much larger Parthia ruled by Mithridates himself? So far as I can make out his meaning, it is the latter Parthia which he has in view, for he describes the general *provenance* of the coins in

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## X.

### EARLY PARTHIAN AND ARMENIAN COINS.

MR. WROTH and I differ about the attribution of the beardless coins generally placed at the head of the Parthian series. While I cannot see my way to attributing any of them to any king earlier than Mithridates the First, and further am in great difficulties in assigning them to the Parthians at all; Mr. Wroth, in his Catalogue and in his subsequent criticism of my paper, attributes some of them to the predecessors of Mithridates and the rest to Mithridates himself, in which he follows other inquirers.

The point on which he lays the most stress in his reply to the cumulative evidence which I adduced is the *provenance* of the coins. This appeal seems to me to involve in the present case a quite ambiguous issue. What, in fact, is meant by the geographical term "Parthia"? and what does Mr. Wroth mean by it? Does he mean the original Parthia before Mithridates enlarged its borders by the conquest of some of their fairest provinces from the Seleucidan kings?—that is to say, does he mean the Parthia ruled over by the predecessors of Mithridates? or does he mean the much larger Parthia ruled by Mithridates himself? So far as I can make out his meaning, it is the latter Parthia which he has in view, for he describes the general *provenance* of the coins in

question by the very vague geographical term "Modern Persia," and says further, "The *provenance* of these coins is Persian, and presumably Parthian" (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV., Vol. V. p. 320).

That the coins come from Parthia in its largest sense I do not dispute at all, but Parthia in its largest sense was not subject to the predecessors of Mithridates. If *provenance* is to be of any value in deciding between our views, we must therefore clearly limit the area where the kings who are supposed to have struck them lived and reigned, to the district where the coins are found, and *vice versâ*. Inasmuch as the Parthian kings who preceded Mithridates lived in a very limited and easily defined district in the north of modern Persia, it is no use appealing to Persia *in genere* for their *provenance*.

Now, the original Parthia was, as I have said, a very limited area. Its chief focus, the ancient satrapy of Parthia in Parthiene, was probably limited to the modern government of Khorasan, and the earlier Parthian kings only ruled over that district with perhaps Mazanderan (the ancient Hyrcania) and the districts bordering on the wastes of Khuarezm, the ancient Chorasmia.

In regard to the coins we are discussing, I have taken some pains myself to discover whether any of them have ever been found in the district of Khorasan and its borders. The question has interested me for another reason. So far as I have been able to inquire, not a single one has been discovered in those districts. Those that have come from India (most of which at one time or other passed through the hands of General Cunningham) came, I believe, in every case from the Euphrates valley, and were taken to India by native dealers and merchants from thence, as most of the Sassanian coins

which have been taken to India were—a fact, by the way, to be carefully noted by those who rely largely on *provenance*, unless it means actual fixed spots.

If Mr. Wroth has some positive evidence for the statement on p. 320, that the general *provenance* of these “beardless” drachms is “*Northern Persia*, perhaps, rather than its *southern districts*,” it would be most valuable to myself and others, for reasons apart altogether from this controversy. Certainly the majority, if not all, of the coins in the British Museum belonging to the beardless type which have not come *through* India, have come directly from the Euphrates valley from Consul Taylor of Diarbekr, on the Upper Tigris, from Rawlinson, Lynch, and others.

Unless this contention about their *provenance* is traversable, none of these coins have been found or have come from the country ruled over by the earlier Parthian kings; and if the matter is to be settled by *provenance*, which Mr. Wroth calls a critical test, then surely *cadit quæstio*. The “practical numismatist” must surely in such matters follow the common gang of patient scholars. By appealing to the *provenance* of the coins, Mr. Wroth has, in fact, supplied me with a new and more potent argument. In my paper I urged on *a priori* grounds that the Parthians did not begin to coin money until they came into contact with people who knew the use of money, and coined it to accommodate the people whom they conquered (who had previously used money), which would be useless among their nomadic fellow-countrymen, who did not know the use of coins. The person who first made these conquests, as far as I know, was Mithridates the First, and he made them at the expense of the rulers of the Bactrian Aria and Drangiana on the one hand, and

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of the Seleucidan Empire on the other. I ventured to further argue that the Parthians, in initiating their coinage, went in the main to the Seleucidan kings for their most persistent models. They took over the characteristic reverse on their coins from the Seleucidan type of Apollo on the omphalos. They took over the various titles adopted by the Seleucidan kings. They took over the Seleucidan method of dating their coins, and adopted the Seleucidan era, and even the names of the Macedonian months. The legends on their coins, again, were written in Greek letters, which we may suppose were hardly readable by the nomads of Parthiene, and were meant to be read by Greek-speaking people.

Mithridates the First was the first Parthian king to conquer and incorporate with his dominions substantial parts of the Seleucidan Empire. Turning to the legends, I ventured to argue that a large proportion of the beardless coins in question bear titles on them which were only used by Seleucidan kings contemporary with Mithridates the First, and were not used by earlier kings, while the very small class on which the name "Arsakes" occurs alone or merely qualified with the title of king might be matched by the coins of the Seleucidan contemporaries of Mithridates. Mr. Wroth saw the force of this fact when he wrote his catalogue, and while he assigns some of these beardless coins to Mithridates' predecessors, he frankly assigns a larger number to Mithridates himself.

It seems, therefore, clear that the beardless coins in question are not only not found where the predecessors of Mithridates ruled, but that the inscriptions on them were in possibly all cases, and certainly in the vast majority of them, copied from those of the Seleucidan kings contemporary with Mithridates. I can therefore

see no adequate evidence that any of them were older than Mithridates' time, and I am bound to say that I think the evidence is overwhelming for the contention in my previous paper in this behalf, both on *a priori* and on inductive grounds.

The next point I raised was as to the possibility of the bearded and beardless coins having been struck by the same king and the same people at the same time. To me this involved, and involves still, an overwhelming improbability which is quite ignored in Mr. Wroth's reply. Nothing can well be more different from each other than the two sets of coins just mentioned. While one set is very artistic in style (equal, in fact, on the obverses of many of them to good Greek coins), the other is very crude indeed. It is, again, impossible to believe that the reverse type of the former was developed from the latter, as the theory more or less involves which puts the latter at an earlier date than the former. The shape of the king's profile on the two sets of coins is quite different. Again, while one set of coins shows a perfectly shaven face, the other has a face with a fine flowing beard. While the one represents the king in a rude peaked leathern head-gear with flaps and tied under the chin, the other set represents him with his head bound by a diadem or encased in a close-fitting graceful helmet or tiara. That these two sets of coins should have been issued by the mint-masters of the same sovereign seems to me quite incredible. If one set of them is to be attributed to Mithridates the First, as King of Parthia, I cannot think it reasonable to attribute the other set to him. That Mithridates the First, like all his dynasty, was a bearded king, I have no doubt whatever. He was an Iranian by origin and blood, as his name and the

names of his ancestors and successors show, and the Iranians have always been very proud of their beards. I urged, in addition, that to represent a beardless king as bearded, or a bearded one as beardless, would be to caricature him in a way quite incomprehensible in the case of a proud Eastern potentate, and quite inadmissible. For these various reasons I urged in my previous paper that, while the beardless coins could not well have been issued before the date of Mithridates the First, they could not well have been issued by him. This virtually means that the beardless coins in question are not Parthian coins—a view which, so far as I know, had not been urged before, and which seems to me to be the only reasonable view if we are to adopt the theory that will meet all the facts.

In these circumstances I ventured to suggest that while the coins were not Parthian, they might perhaps be Armenian, for Armenia was governed for a considerable time by an Arsacidan dynasty, cadets of the great Parthian House, and the ruler who actually first conquered Armenia was, in fact, Mithridates the First himself. I cannot quite follow Mr. Wroth in throwing apparent doubts upon the fact that the Armenians, like the Parthians, were governed by Arsacidae. I thought no fact of early Eastern history, certainly no fact in Parthian history, was better established, and I don't know any authority on Armenian history, from St. Martin and Brosset to Langlois, who doubts it. Nor can I share Mr. Wroth's views about the Narrative of Moses of Chorene on this matter. The editor of the edition of the latter I used, Langlois, was an Armenian historian and authority of the first rank, and his prolegomena on the subject are admirable. Mr. Wroth cannot surely

question the fact that the dynasty to which the great Tigranes belonged was an Arsacidan one? Ritter von Petrovitch, in his work which is just published, has no such doubts, and makes abundant use of the fact; nor can I understand on what such doubts can be based. By the way, in regard to Tigranes, Mr. Wroth thinks he ought to be treated as a Seleucidan, and not as an Arsacidan king, because he conquered Antioch. The capture of Vienna and Moscow by Napoleon did not make him a Hapsburg or a Romanof. He still remained Emperor of the French. The fact of Tigranes having issued coins at Antioch does not justify us in attributing them to the Seleucidan series, any more than we should class the staters of Philip the Second or of his son, struck in all kinds of places in Thrace and Asia Minor, to any other dynasty than that of the Macedonian kings. Tigranes merely enlarged his old kingdom of Armenia when he conquered Antioch, that was all.

Mr. Wroth calls the type on the reverse of the beardless coins "the Arsacidan type *par excellence*." It, no doubt, is the type that occurs on most of the Arsacidan coins, but, as Mr. Wroth completely allows, the prototype of the reverse of this "Arsacidan type *par excellence*" was not an original Parthian idea, but is merely a replica of the so-called Apollo on the omphalos on the reverses of some of the earlier Seleucidan coins. It follows its prototype in holding Apollo's bow and in sitting on Apollo's world-egg. How such a figure with such an origin can represent an heroic Parthian king, as Mr. Wroth seems to think, I cannot understand. The figure sitting on an unmistakable omphalos can assuredly only represent some phase of Apollo, and, as I suggested, possibly represents him as Mithras, the

Eastern form of Apollo. A king would be put on a throne, as was the fashion in representing the older Persian kings, and not on such an uncomfortable stool as the world-egg. As Apollo or as Mithras, the representation on the beardless coins would be as consistent with their Armenian origin as with their Parthian origin, for Mithras was worshipped in both areas, and the fact is not less consistent with Eastern usage in representing its gods as wearing a royal *mitra*, and sometimes in armour, if he were represented in a combative mood.

Mr. Wroth suggests that the beardless figure represents "the first King of Parthia, who had not yet adopted a beard of formal cut" (see page 322). What authority he has for attributing a bust without any beard at all to the founder of this great Iranian dynasty, I cannot understand. If the great founder, who Mr. Wroth thinks was deified, started such a fashion, it is very odd that his successors should have abandoned it so entirely and completely that when a Greek king adopted a beard he was supposed to be adopting a Parthian fashion. Mr. Wroth again says that the explanation of the beardless head on the obverse of the coins is clearly taken from the head of the figure on the omphalos on the reverse, and he is so satisfied with this view that he puts it in italics, and says that the explanation "leaps to the eyes." I am afraid my eyes are very bleared, for the explanation to me seems as reasonable as to suppose the head of Antiochus the Second on some of his tetradrachms was taken from that of Apollo on the omphalos on the other side of the same coins; this reverse of the latter class of coins being avowedly the prototype of that on the Parthian



series. Against the Armenian origin of the beardless coins Mr. Wroth affirms very positively that while they do occur in Parthia (by which he means Parthia Major, which has little or nothing to do with the issue), they do not occur in Armenia. He says that he does not know of a single instance of one of these coins having been acquired in Armenia, and challenges me to produce one. Here again we must be careful of our geography. By "Armenia" I do not mean the limited country of Ararat, but the whole Empire of the Armenian Arsacidae, and especially of the founder of the dynasty, an empire which extended from the Caucasus to Syria, and whose southern capital was Nisibin on the Tigris, where Valarsakes died. It included the true Mesopotamia. I contend most distinctly that nothing could be more consistent with the Armenian *provenance* of these beardless coins than this geographical fact, for those whose *provenance* are known to me have come from or through the Baghdad dealers, and therefore from close to the Mesopotamian territory of the Armenian kings.

Mr. Wroth says that the cap or leathern mitra worn by the beardless busts on the Arsacidan coins is not *exactly* like that on the Armenian coins I compared it with, but is more flat on the top. It is not "exactly like," certainly. The dynasty had changed, and the fashion of the head-gear might certainly have changed somewhat, but the change was, after all, a small one. In both cases we have a leathern cap fitted with flaps and made in the same generic way. What is more to the point is that neither specifically nor generically has either form of the leathern mitra any resemblance to the head-dress worn by the bearded kings of Parthia. I should like to add to the arguments previously used

in this behalf that Petrovitch, in the work already cited, quotes from his own collection a drachm of the beardless type which is inscribed simply "Arsakes," and which he puts at the head of the whole Parthian series, and attributes to the first Arsakes. On this coin the shape of the leathern mitra is flat on the top like those on the avowedly Armenian coins already cited, while the figure on the reverse is seated not on an *omphalos*, but on a throne, in which respects it seems to me to be a transition coin, and to actually link the beardless coins hitherto classed as Parthian with the Armenian coins of similar type which were coined at an earlier time in Armenia.

Mr. Wroth cites with triumph the fact that Tigranes the Armenian king, who he will have it is really a Syrian ruler, wore an elaborately decorated mitra, and not a cap with leathern flaps. No doubt he did. But he had meanwhile become a great potentate, and was therefore probably disinclined to the shepherd's cap of his ancestors. Apart from this, the argument is surely inconsequent. If we are to measure the early head-dress worn by Armenian kings by the tiara of Tigranes, why not measure the early head-dress of the Parthian kings by the elaborate and ornamental tiara which Mr. Wroth attributes to Sinatruces and to Phraates the Third, and the linen puffed-out mitra which is worn by so many later Parthian kings in the Parthian Catalogue, Pl. viii., etc.?

In regard to my attribution of these beardless coins to the Arsacidan rulers of Armenia, I did so quite hypothetically, and in the absence of a more reasonable explanation. My sentence was, "Here I could make a suggestion which I offer *tentatively* as a possible

escape from our difficulty," etc. Again, "These conclusions about the beardless coins of the Arsacidae are still largely tentative, as most of our conclusions about Parthian coins must remain, but they seem to me to solve some difficulties."

I am bound to say that they seem more reasonable to me now than when I first wrote them.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

## XI.

### CONTORNIATES AND TABULAE LUSORIAE.

(See Plates XVII., XVIII.)

FEW ancient objects are at present in a more unfortunate position than contorniates,<sup>1</sup> for few are, like them, without a name. Ignorance of their nature led the antiquaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to adopt the name Contorniati (Ital. *contorno*) for these pieces, from the incised circle round the outer edge almost always present both on obverse and reverse. Despite endless discussion, the problem of their origin remains unsolved, though the clue is, I believe, to be found in M. Froehner's brilliant suggestion<sup>2</sup> connecting them with the *tabulae lusoriae*, of which large numbers exist. He points out that the incised or inlaid palms and leaves, the much-discussed symbol  $\text{P}$  and its variants, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Sabatier's *Médaillons Contorniates*, an illustrated Corpus of almost all the types known, and M. Robert's studies, are of primary importance. Summaries of the older views will be found in the dictionaries; other references in the text of the present paper, including a valuable article by the Abbé Bruzza, in the *Annali* for 1877. Of English publications since Pinkerton, I only know the article in *Dict. Ant.* An important pamphlet by the late C. W. King, *On the True Nature of the Contorniate Medallions*, only came into my hands after this paper was completed; mention of it will be found in the postscript. My paper was entirely written before I referred to Dr. Pick's important article in *Pauly-Wissowa*: hence my conclusions, sometimes identical with his, were arrived at independently.

<sup>2</sup> *Annuaire de Numismatique*, 1894, p. 88.

often misspelt and inappropriate inscriptions are common to both: "Si les mêmes symboles qui décorent le damier antique tiennent une si grande place sur les médailles dont nous ignorons l'usage, cet usage n'est-il pas tout indiqué?" Comm. Fr. Gneccchi, however, rejects this theory,<sup>3</sup> and proposes to consider them as merely playing cards, "pezzi o carte da giuoco," basing his theory upon a well-known contorniate<sup>4</sup> representing three men standing at a table placed in an arcade, handling a number of round objects which he believes to be contorniates. But the traditional interpretation of the scene as a money-changer's place of business is certainly correct, and is confirmed by a recently published fragment of a sarcophagus from Ravenna,<sup>5</sup> on which the *argentarius* stands behind a table heaped with coin. The contorniate is of particular interest as preserving the actual surroundings of the Roman 'Change, the home also of the bill-discounter, to use a modern phrase, to whose booths and arcades so many references occur in literature.<sup>6</sup> Gneccchi further objects that, owing to the high relief of the heads, contorniates could not have been used as draughtsmen, as it would be difficult to pile one on the other. But we have no reason to think that any of the games played on *tabulae lusoriae* were identical with our draughts, so that this objection carries little weight, although, by emphasizing the high relief of the heads, it incidentally proves that, if used as draughtsmen, the side bearing the head must have been the obverse.

<sup>3</sup> *Riv. Ital.*, 1895, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Sab.*, xix. 9; Gneccchi, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Nota d. Scavi di R. Accad. d. Lincei*, 1904, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Liv.*, i. 40; *Ter.*, *Phorm.*, v. 8. 28; *Adelph.*, ii. 4. 12; *Cic.*, *De Off.*, ii. 2. 5; *Phil.*, vi. 5; *Hor.*, *Ep.*, i. 1. 51; *Sat.*, ii. 3. 18, etc.

According to the hypothesis of M. Blanchet,<sup>7</sup> contorniates were used as lots to determine the starting order of the chariots in sixth-century races, and the piece assigned to each charioteer was either distinct in type or differentiated by incised or inlaid symbols. This theory, however, does not account for the incised circles and raised rims which form so prominent a feature of the pieces, nor for the very large proportion of types unconnected with the amphitheatre. Moreover, the date assigned is too late, as all contorniates belong to the Western Empire.

The older theory that they were used as amulets to bring success to competitors in the games, based on certain types known to have had a talismanic virtue in later times, *e.g.* the heads of Alexander and Apollonius of Tyana, was again brought forward by the late Fr. Lenormant, in his article on "Contorniates" in *Daremberg et Saglio*; but, though once universally accepted, it has now been given up by all numismatists as based on quite insufficient evidence. The hypothesis of M. Robert,<sup>8</sup> the most important because the most widely accepted of recent theories, suggests that contorniates were medals distributed among competitors and their friends before the games—hence the words of encouragement on some of them—and that all the types have reference to public spectacles, the circus and amphitheatral subjects to the *ludi*, the heroic and mythical to the mimes and ballets performed by actors in the guise of gods. But the frequent occurrence of many of these very myths in

<sup>7</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1890, p. 485.

<sup>8</sup> *Étude sur les Médaillons Contorniates*, pp. 6, 37: "Les médaillons contorniates, quels que soient leur nature, leur âge ou leur type, étaient exclusivement relatifs aux jeux et aux hommes qui y prenaient part."

Roman wall-paintings, though cited by M. Robert, hardly tells in favour of his view; rather it shows that they were the common decorative stock of the Roman craftsman, and not theatrical representations at all. Moreover, it is impossible so to interpret types like the *Largitio* of Constantius, the terminal figures of gods on **Pl. XVIII. 1**, the bearded snake eating fruits off an altar—though M. Robert explains it as a trained performing serpent—or the portrait of the Consul Petronius Maximus, struck, as we shall see, during his lifetime. M. Robert, seeing some of the difficulties of his theory, adds, “Les médaillons imités des monnaies ont rapport sinon à des représentations théâtrales proprement dites, du moins à des pompes militaires, à des cortèges funèbres ou à des poses de mimes habiles symbolisant Rome ou personnifiant qualités et les victoires de l'empereur.” This list by no means exhausts the possibilities which would have to be within the reach of the “mimes habiles” if we accept M. Robert's theory; nor does he always recognize the coin types of which he speaks, *e.g.* he describes the well-known **Æ 1**, of Nero, **R** port of Ostia, as follows:—“**Por(tus) Ost(iae)** indique une naumachie représentant le port situé à l'embouchure du Tibre.” Even if we can force the theory into covering such coin types as the above, the **COLONIA DEDVCTA** of Caligula, the Temple of Janus Closed, or the various triumphal arches, we still cannot account for a small but distinct class hitherto, I believe, unnoticed, reproducing known works of art as decorative designs. These include the standing Apollo resting his lyre on a tripod, a type probably Praxitelean in origin;<sup>9</sup> an Athena of the type of the west pediment

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<sup>9</sup> Sab., xi. 11; Overbeck, *Apollon.*, pp. 195-199.

of the Parthenon;<sup>10</sup> a triple Hecate;<sup>11</sup> an archaic type of Heracles with a bow;<sup>12</sup> the Farnese Heracles;<sup>13</sup> the so-called "Farnese Bull;"<sup>14</sup> a reclining Oceanus;<sup>15</sup> an adaptation of the *Antioch* of Eutychides, inscribed ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΠΕ (*sic*);<sup>16</sup> Odysseus and the ram;<sup>17</sup> and an Alexander in battle (Pl. XVII. 1), possibly reproducing the central portion of the lost Lysippic group of the Battle of the Granicus, which stood in the Portico of Octavia,<sup>18</sup> reference to which will be made later. Other types may well go back to sculptural originals<sup>19</sup> or to paintings; at present I have done no more than point out the more obvious examples of an interesting numismatic fact.

M. Robert regards the side bearing the head as the reverse, that bearing the more interesting design as the obverse. If, however, we regard the side bearing a head or bust as the obverse in the case of coins, it is only logical to apply the same rule in the case of contorniates, which are often copied from coins. Moreover, the incised or inlaid symbols occur without exception on the side

<sup>10</sup> Sab., xii. 3; Imhoof-Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 129.

<sup>11</sup> Sab. xiii. 9, there described as the Furies. The snakes and stars in the field appear to be decorative, the former possibly through contamination with an early Erinnys type (Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 213).

<sup>12</sup> Sab., xii. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., xiii. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., xiv. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., xii. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., xiii. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Sab., xiii. 7. For sculptural types of Odysseus and the ram, see *Clarac*, 833<sup>a</sup>, 833<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *Vell. Paterc.*, i. 11. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *E.g.* Dionysus, xi. 8; Athena and Heracles, xiii. 1; Laocoon and his sons, xiv. 11. Though differing from the famous group in the addition of the fluttering chlamys, the composition is very similar, and unlike the ordinary pictorial version of the story in Roman art.



bearing the head;<sup>20</sup> they are admittedly marks of value or distinction, and must therefore have been placed on the side which was uppermost. The same applies to the inlay sometimes ornamentally applied to the hair or dress of a bust, which was therefore presumably visible. Again, if used as draughtsmen, the side bearing the head must from its high relief have been uppermost on the board. Finally, from the point of view of the numismatist a classification according to emperors, &c., not according to reverse types, is highly convenient.

The *tabulae lusoriae* in connection with which contorniates were probably used are of stone or marble, and vary greatly in arrangement. The following is the usual type: An oblong board is divided into fields by six words of six letters ranged three by three on either side of the central line. These inscriptions are sometimes metrical in arrangement; *e.g.*—

PONITE  
BELLVM  
ITAQVE

MATVRE  
PRECOR  
CESSET<sup>21</sup>

sometimes of political import—

PARTHI  
BRITTO  
LVDITE

OCCISI  
VICTVS  
ROMANI<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> I have not seen the single specimen figured by Sabatier, bearing the symbol  $\Xi$  on what he terms the reverse; but as the other side, Sabatier's obverse, bears a view of the amphitheatre, a well-known *reverse* type, I would suggest that it is the reverse in the present case, and the hunting scene with  $\Xi$  the obverse.

<sup>21</sup> Ihm, *Bonner Studien*, p. 223; *Röm. Mitth.*, 1891, p. 216.

<sup>22</sup> Huelsen, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1904, p. 142.

often connected with the *ludi*,<sup>23</sup> as on the only *tabula* in the British Museum—

CIRCVS  
CLAMOR  
IANVAE

PLENVS  
INGENS  
TE[CTAE?]

One curious inscription on a board marked BENA-  
TORES<sup>24</sup>

ABEMVS  
PVLLVM  
PERNAM

INCENA  
PAONEM  
PISCEM

deserves especial notice from the fact that representations of food, including the fish and ham above mentioned, occur on contorniates. M. Robert connected them with the *largitio* of food often made to the spectators, but it is much more probable that they were used on such a board as the above.<sup>25</sup>

The pieces seem to have been placed one behind each letter of each word, as not only do the average dimensions of these spaces correspond with the room necessary for a contorniate, but a fragment of such a *tabula* (of which only two of the six words remain) exists with incised circles actually in this position. It is, I think, to this form of the game that the words of Isidorus, *ternariae lineae*, *senarii loci*, probably refer.<sup>26</sup> That it was the common and as it were generic form appears from his

<sup>23</sup> *Bull. Comm.*, 1887, p. 180; *Scavi*, 1887, p. 118; Hall of Inscriptions, No. 86.

<sup>24</sup> *I.e.* it was owned by a company of *Venatores*.

<sup>25</sup> These *Venatores*, often represented on contorniates, formed that section of the *Bestiarii* who fought for hire in the arena, and were allowed arms; the rest were criminals, who were exposed defenceless to the wild beasts.

<sup>26</sup> *Etyim.*, xviii. 64, &c. For the use of *calculi* on *tabulae*, many classical authorities can be quoted, *e.g.* Ovid and Martial; the latter reckons among his modest minimum of wants, *tabulam calculoque*.

words, *inde et tabulam dicunt lineis ternis descriptam*. He, by the way, ascribes their invention to the Trojan War: *Alea, id est, ludus tabulae, inventa est a Graecis in otio Troiani belli*, and adds, *tabula luditur pyrgo calculis tesserrisque*. The *tessera*, he tells us, was square—*Tesserae vocatae quia quadratae sunt ex omnibus partibus*—the *calculus* was *levis et rotundus*.

On this form of board, therefore, a game was played with smooth round pieces corresponding in size at least to contorniates; we may now consider others on which they appear to have been used. One of these is of oblong form with a straight line across one end dividing off a small space, at one side of which stands the symbol  $\text{P}$ .<sup>27</sup> Incised circles indicate the places of the sixteen pieces, fifteen of which are advancing down the board while the sixteenth has reached the goal. Whether played by one person or two, this game clearly consisted in getting the men "home" to the  $\text{P}$ , which marks the place of victory.

Yet another board exists which can be connected with contorniates, though the evidence does not here consist in the presence of incised circles, but in the dominating symbols, the palm and  $\text{E}$ , whose meaning on contorniates will be discussed later. In the pavement of the Forum, in the middle of the inner aisle of the Basilica Julia,<sup>28</sup> is a circular board divided into eight parts, two of which contain the palm and two the symbol  $\text{E}$ , so arranged as to leave alternate spaces blank.<sup>29</sup> I have to thank Sir

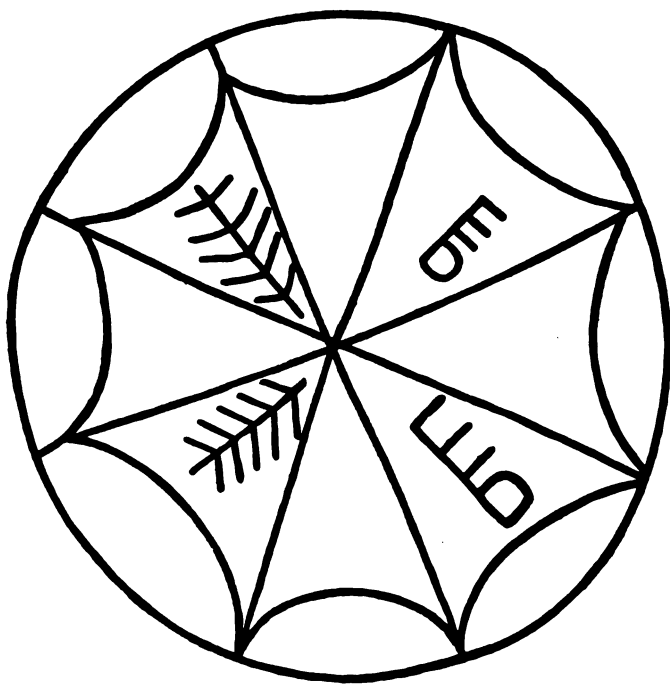
<sup>27</sup> *Dar. and Sagl.*, s.v. "Lusoria tabula," Fig. 4366.

<sup>28</sup> "Next to the nave, between the second and third columns, at the north-east angle of the Basilica." I owe this information, and the annexed drawing, to the kindness of Mr. Paul.

<sup>29</sup> Published by the Abbé Bruzza, *Ann.*, 1877, tav. FG, No. 27.

John Evans for drawing my attention to this interesting and important *tabula*, which is not mentioned in any of the dictionaries.

We may fairly infer that, in the present case at least, a race game and (possibly) played with racing



TABULA LUSORIA FROM THE PAVEMENT OF THE ROMAN FORUM.

Scale, 1 : 7.

types, the opposing sides were distinguished by the palm and the E, an important clue to the meaning of these and other symbols found on contorniates. Sir John Evans has kindly furnished me with a list of places in which he has observed this form of board, but *without* symbols, in each case on pavements:—

The Forum.

Temple of Olympian Zeus, Athens.

The Horologium of Andronicus ("Temple of the Winds").

At Eleusis.<sup>80</sup>

Most existing *tabulae* formed part of the pavement of a place of public resort; in the first century B.C. an irreverent generation played in the sacred Forum itself, and Cicero finds nothing worse to say even of a client of Antonius than *hominem nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in Foro alea ludere*.<sup>81</sup>

Other forms of *tabulae* exist which are described in the dictionaries; here I need only point to the correspondence in shape and dimensions between the incised circles on the boards and contorniates, the symbols common to both, and the relation between pieces often marked with palm and E and a game played on a board with these symbols as the distinctive marks of the opposing sides.

The argument has more than once been used that, had contorniates been used as draughtsmen, they would show more signs of wear. On the other hand, the rim is a great protection, and that the rubbing is not very serious may be gathered from the analogy of the Edward VI shillings which were used as pieces in the game of shovel-board; silver rubs more quickly than bronze, the relief of the designs is almost *nil*, and there is no protecting rim, yet it is rare to find a piece on which the design is quite obliterated. Hence the good condition of many contorniates is easily accounted for, and those figured on Pl. XVII. and XVIII. are, it must

<sup>80</sup> Lenormant, *Recherches Archéologiques à Eleusis* ("Recueil d'inscriptions"), p. 374.

<sup>81</sup> *Phil.*, ii. 23.

be remembered, mostly chosen specimens, and above the average in preservation.

We know, then, the forms of *tabulae lusoriae*; we know the shape and (roughly) the size of the pieces used on some of them at least; we know the name given to these pieces by ancient authors; and from evidence drawn from their size and shape, and the symbols and inscriptions found on them we infer that contorniates were used on some, if not all, of these *tabulae*. If the inference be correct, we know the ancient name of these anomalous pieces, and can say with Isidorus, *tabula luditur calculis*.

The use of coin types and the general resemblance between contorniates and State issues indicate a relation between them, that of original and adaptation. Coins were used by the ostentatious as pieces in games of skill—Trimalchio had a set of gold and silver denarii: *Pro calculis albis ac nigris aureos argenteosque habebat denarios*<sup>32</sup>—and what would be more natural than for those who could not afford to play with actual coins to make use of pieces generally resembling them, but of cheap workmanship and material, and, in consequence of their numismatic origin, decorated both on obverse and reverse, the very process which led to the use of counters for games in mediaeval and modern times? If the game required the two sides to be distinct, it would be easy to use "men" bearing different heads, imperial or literary, or pieces distinguished by their symbols.<sup>33</sup> We have

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<sup>32</sup> Petr. Arb., *Sat.*, 33. Pieces were also made of glass and precious stones.

<sup>33</sup> Seta used on different-sized boards would account for the variations in size. A terra-cotta group found in Athens shows a sort of draughts in progress; the men are round and flat (*Dar. and Sagl.*, art. "Latrunculi,"

seen that the side bearing the head was the obverse; it was therefore by that side that players distinguished their pieces, which explains the few and comparatively constant types in use.

Contorniates then—or, to use their ancient name, *calculi*—are round objects, cast or struck, with raised rims and circular depressions,<sup>84</sup> used as pieces in games of chance, closely resembling coins, when not actually copied from them. To the obverse (*i.e.* the side bearing the head) symbols are often added, palms, ivy leaves, wreaths, helmets, panthers and other animals, a caduceus, initials (probably those of the owner), above all the much-discussed E and its variants.<sup>85</sup> Their meaning is still uncertain, but they were apparently indications of the value of a piece in the game, or, as in the case of the circular board, formed the distinguishing marks of the two sides. They are either incised or inlaid, the distinction probably indicating the wealth of the respective owners.<sup>86</sup>

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Fig. 4366). A phrase of Pliny (*N. H.*, viii. 54) tells us that in some games "all the pieces were not identically the same, as in our modern game of draughts" (Becq de Fouquières, *Les Jeux des Anciens*, p. 437).

<sup>84</sup> That these depressions were added after the piece was made is clear from the fact that they often cut into and deface the inscriptions.

<sup>85</sup> Many varieties are figured in the Abbé Bruzsa's paper already cited, though his list is incomplete. I have met with P E E E E E on different specimens.

<sup>86</sup> The inlay is commonly of silver; in one case known to me gold is used. On the whole, those bearing inlay are, as we should expect, of finer style than those which are merely incised. Cohen<sup>2</sup> (viii. p. 274) considers that all incisions were originally filled with inlay, but this can be disproved: (a) in a few cases the inlay bears objects *in relief*; (b) incised palms are often carefully feathered, which would be useless if inlay were to be afterwards used; (c) inlaid palms are sometimes incised. M. Robert's theory that when in relief they imply that the charioteer or actor had won his reward at the time when the contorniate was made, that when incised they were added after his victory, is improbable, even if they symbolized the prizes he won—a view which I have shown to be hardly tenable.

That they do not represent accessory prizes, as is commonly held,<sup>37</sup> is fairly certain. We have no reason to suppose that, *e.g.*, bears or stags' heads were given as rewards to victors, though the theory suits well enough with the helmets, palms, wreaths, &c., on which it is based. On the majority of contorniates there is no symbol, and of the rest a large proportion bear the palm (of the whole number in the British Museum a third are so distinguished), though M. Robert states that P and its variants are "incomparably the most frequent." I agree with M. Robert that this symbol, one form of which is represented on the obverse of Pl. XVIII. 2, another on Pl. XVIII. 3, cannot be explained as a monogram of PE, PF, PFEL, or PR, as is often held, the P being the only constant quantity.<sup>38</sup> Though the form P with no horizontal stroke is nowhere mentioned, I long suspected its existence, and a recent examination of the specimens in Sir John Evans's collection resulted in its discovery.<sup>39</sup> It is clear, then, that P is the root, and the strokes, though indicative of value (in the game, not, as M. Robert thinks, of the number of sesterces won by the victors in the games), not essential to the meaning. Is an interpretation possible? *Palma*, *Praemia*, *Palma feliciter*, even *Monogramma quod vel domini nomen vel forte prasinam Factionem*,<sup>40</sup> are among

<sup>37</sup> M. Robert's theory, adopted by the writers in *Dict. Ant. and Dar. and Sagl.*, s.v. "Contorniates." He states that bears, lions, &c., in precious metal were given to victorious *Bestiarii*, but I have failed to trace the authority for this statement.

<sup>38</sup> *Méd. Contorn.*, p. 32.


<sup>39</sup> *Obr.*—TRAIVNS P · F · AVG. Head of Trajan. P P twice incised.

*Rev.*—OLYMPIAS REGINA. Olympias reclining on couch.

<sup>40</sup> Gori, *Thes. Vet. Diptych.*, ii. 84.



the answers given. The two last may be at once dismissed, but between the former it is not easy to decide. We have seen the form  $\mathbb{P}$  allied with the palm on the circular board, and it so appears on other inscriptions and monuments, notably on an object of medallic form, published by M. Robert, on which  $\mathbb{P}$  is placed between two palms,<sup>41</sup> and on a Christian tombstone of the year 363, whose inscription runs—

*Nunc ipsa secura quiescis*   
*Semper quiescis secura.*  $\mathbb{P}$  <sup>42</sup>

There is clearly a relation between palm and symbol, whether that of an equation or a parallel it is difficult to say; their meaning must be almost identical. Either *palma* or *praemia*, therefore, would suit equally well, but the latter is, perhaps, to be preferred as making a slight distinction in meaning between the two sides in a game and the two elements in a Christian's reward after death. I may add that the existence of the symbol in such a connection should have saved M. Robert and his supporters from the formula  $\mathbb{P} = \textit{praemia} = \text{prizes in money}$ .<sup>43</sup>

Contorniates are usually assigned to the period between

<sup>41</sup> *Annali*, 1877, tav. FG; *Rev. Num.*, 1890, p. 481; *Dar. and Sagl.*, Fig. 1532; M. Robert's medallion, *Méd. Contorn.*, pl. v. 5.

<sup>42</sup> *Annali*, l.c., p. 57. Two of the horizontal strokes join at the end.

<sup>43</sup> The use of  $\mathbb{P}$  to indicate the "homo" on the board mentioned on p. 7, may also induce us to prefer to read *praemia* for *palma*. The other symbols, leaves, animals, &c., may be similarly explained as marks of distinction or value; some of these occur on the *tabulae* themselves. I must add a word of protest as to M. Robert's method of printing the symbol  $\mathbb{P}$  as  $\mathbb{P}$  in his *Mythe de Cybèle et d'Atys* (*Rev. Num.*, 3<sup>me</sup> série, 1885, pp. 38 f.), which seems to assume the existence of a monogram—a theory against which the author has himself protested.

Constantine the Great and Anthemius, a space of little more than a hundred and fifty years; one only, so far as I know, can be definitely dated, that bearing on the obverse a bust of Valentinian III (425-455), on the reverse the figure of his favourite, the Consul Petronius Maximus, in his robes, holding *mappa* and bâton, around PETRONIVS MAXSVMVS VC CONS (= *vir clarissimus consul*).<sup>44</sup> As Emperor and favourite appear together, the piece must have been struck during the reign of Valentinian, who was assassinated by Petronius, in return for a gross insult, in 455. The style bears out the lateness of the date, and supplies a *terminus ad quem* for contorniates in general; many are, one may boldly say, centuries earlier than this specimen. As an example of the finest art of the maker of contorniates, I have chosen the head of Alexander on Pl. XVII. 1. Although copied from a second-century issue of Macedonian coins,<sup>45</sup> the contorniate is immeasurably the finer, and may take its place among the best medalllic portraits of the hero. It is probably Lysippic in origin, with the upstanding hair and upward glance of the head mentioned by Plutarch<sup>46</sup> as characteristic of the Lysippic Alexander. The reverse type, already referred to as a possible instance of the reproduction of a sculptural type, resembles the famous bronze statuette of Alexander in battle, now at Naples,<sup>47</sup> which is usually associated with the lost group of the Battle of the Granicus, brought to Rome from Macedonia in 168 B.C. The contorniate, therefore, deserves attention not only as a very fine work of its class, but as throwing

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<sup>44</sup> Sab., xvi. 4.

<sup>45</sup> A bronze issue struck from 218 to 249 A.D.

<sup>46</sup> *De Alex.*, ii. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Collignon, *Sculp. Gr.*, ii. p. 437.

new light on the lost group—the fallen enemy being absent in the bronze, though implied by the down-thrust of Alexander's weapon—if, indeed, as is at least possible, it be derived from the work of Lysippus.

The freest use of circus and amphitheatral scenes is on pieces of comparatively late date; it is, therefore, a fair inference that, as the public games grew in importance, pieces for use in games of skill became linked by their devices more and more closely with the *ludi*. Thus phrases like IN PRASINO, IN VENETO, MARGARITA VINCAS, PETRONI PLACEAS, sometimes unrelated to the type, become common. A passage of Suetonius<sup>48</sup> informs us that Nero, that lover of the amphitheatre, played on an *abacus* with ivory quadrigas. This may have been a race game like that played on the circular board; in any case, the transition from an actual quadriga to the *representation* of one would be an easy matter. By a curious perversity, almost all writers have concentrated their attention on the games types, certainly the least interesting section of the subject, and that which can be most easily illustrated from other objects, such as mosaics and ivories.<sup>49</sup> The mythological and kindred types, on the other hand, including rather more than half the published examples, form a little-known source of knowledge; and it is with a few of these, after a brief mention of the chief obverse types, that I now propose to deal.

The obverses may be classified as follows:—

- (a) Heads of divinities, rare and of minor importance.
- (b) Heads of literary and historical celebrities.

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<sup>48</sup> *Nero*, xxii.

<sup>49</sup> Especially from the mosaics found at Lyons and Barcelona (*Dict. Ant.*, i. p. 433; *Dar. and Sagl.*, s.v. "Circus"), whose irregular spelling, a mixture of Greek and Latin, even in the names of the race-horses, corresponds with this class of contorniate types.

(c) Portraits of Alexander and Olympias.

(d) Roman imperial personages, to whom may be added Antinous.

(e) Miscellaneous—busts of charioteers, the amphitheatre, tragic masks, &c.

The first class needs no comment, for nothing occurs in it that may not be better studied elsewhere. Class (b), a specimen of which appears on Pl. XVIII. 1, is, as students of iconography have now realized, practically worthless, the Terence, Horace, Virgil, &c., in which earlier antiquaries put such pathetic trust, being merely imaginary heads, the creations of an unscientific age which could clothe Horace in the consular robes of the fourth century, and represent Virgil with the flowing hair of the barbarians conquered by his hero Augustus.<sup>50</sup> Classes (c) and (d) may be much better studied from the original coins, except the head of Olympias, a purely ideal conception; while class (e) is small and of little interest. The obverse types, then, are few and unimportant; those of the reverse, on the other hand, are of the most varied interest, and usually unrelated to those on the obverse—a fact in itself a strong argument for their purely decorative character. Considerable skill is sometimes shown in adapting the designs to a circular field, and their artistic merit has, I think, been underrated, as a comparison with the much

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<sup>50</sup> It was to a contorniate, by the way, that the long-lived "Seneca" error owed its existence. This famous head, one of the cruxes of ancient iconography, was, on the sole authority of an engraving of this (lost) contorniate, ascribed to Seneca down to the end of the nineteenth century, despite the fact that some replicas are of Greek workmanship, and at least two hundred years earlier than the time of the philosopher.

In the case of the Horace the error has unfortunately been perpetuated by the familiar *Globe* edition, on the cover and title-page of which the ORATIVS (or HORATIVS) contorniate is reproduced as a genuine portrait, with the motto "Fitting aptest words to aptest things."

inferior coins of the fourth and fifth centuries will show. Six groups of reverse types may be distinguished—

(a) The large class representing gladiatorial sports, hunting scenes, the circus, and other amphitheatral competitions.

(b) Deities and their attendants.

(c) Heroic and mythical types.<sup>51</sup>

(d) Events connected with the life of Alexander.

(e) Copies of coin types.

(f) Scenes from daily life.

I do not propose to discuss in detail any of these classes, but to offer new interpretations of some unexplained or disputed types, and accurately to reproduce others which, though easy of interpretation, are of archaeological or mythological interest.

Among the most curious of contorniate types is one of rude workmanship [Pl. XVII. 2], bearing on the obverse a head of Nero, on the reverse a bearded personage, clad in a flowing robe and wearing a disproportionately large head-dress, his right hand vaguely outstretched, his left resting on the head of a child at his side, clad in a similar dress. Of this piece Sabatier says,<sup>52</sup> "Nous sommes fort embarrassés pour en expliquer le sujet, surtout à cause de l'étrangeté du costume peu classique du principal personnage. Ce n'est donc qu'en désespoir

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<sup>51</sup> Under this head may be placed the seated figure of Pythagoras (inaccurately reproduced in Sab., xv. 1), with which I have dealt in the current (1906) number of *Papers of the British School at Rome*, as affording a basis for iconographic discussion. It differs *in toto* from the imaginary heads on the obverse of many contorniates in reproducing a figure exactly corresponding with the literary evidence; there are indications that it is copied from a statue. On the obverse is a radiate bust of Helios bearing a sceptre, i.e. the subjects on obverse and reverse are related (which is rarely the case), Helios being the reputed father of Pythagoras.

<sup>52</sup> P. 126.

de cause, et sans conviction que nous avons songé avoir ici la représentation d'Esculape, accompagné de Téléphore." Cohen merely says,<sup>53</sup> "Personnage debout, posant la main sur la tête d'un enfant." Neither notices the high props on which the principal figure stands, though in them lies the clue. They are simply *cothurni*, and the "costume peu classique" is that of the tragic actor, with its high head-dress and mask, its flowing robe and deep bands of embroidery round the waist and down the front of the dress. Here, then, is a scene from classical tragedy in which a grown man appears leaning on a child and groping with his right hand, gestures certainly implying blindness.<sup>54</sup> In two tragedies known to us a blind father leans for support on a child, Oedipus on Antigone, at the beginning of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, where the king addresses his daughter as—

τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνη,

and in the *Phoenissae* (834 *seqq.*), where Teiresias appears leaning on his daughter (whose name is known from other sources to have been Manto),<sup>55</sup> whom he thus addresses—

ἡγοῦ πάροιθε, θύγατερ· ὡς τυφλῷ ποδὶ  
ὀφθαλμος εἴ σου, ναυβάταισιν ἄστρον ὥς·  
δεῦρ' εἰς τὸ λευρὸν πέδον ἵχνος τιθεῖσ' ἐμὸν  
πρόβαν, μὴ σφαλῶμεν· ἀσθενὴς πατήρ.

I incline to the latter interpretation for two reasons. Representations of tragic drama other than Euripidean are of extreme rarity; the plays of Sophocles in particular were practically unknown in Roman times, and

<sup>53</sup> Ed. 2, viii. p. 295.

<sup>54</sup> The importance of gesture in classical tragedy can scarcely be over-rated; it formed, in the absence of play of feature, the principal means of conveying emotion to the audience.

<sup>55</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Manto;" B. M. Cat., *Vases*, iv. pl. xvi.

have left scarcely any traces in art.<sup>56</sup> It is, therefore, improbable that on objects of essentially popular use, such as contorniates, the representation of a scene from an obsolete dramatist should occur. The *Phoenissae*, on the other hand, was one of the most popular of Euripidean tragedies, and scenes from it are of comparatively frequent occurrence. It was one of the three plays of the later Euripidean recension, and MSS. are consequently very numerous. The scene represented on the contorniate agrees so exactly with the words above quoted, that we may with some certainty see in it an actual presentment of the drama as performed in the full tragic costume, for which it is among the best authorities. The dress of the principal figure corresponds closely with that of the well-known ivory statuette of an actor,<sup>57</sup> another conspicuous example of the use of gesture. With all deference to M. Robert, I look on this as the *only* instance on a contorniate of a scene taken direct from a play, and apart from this interest its value as evidence is considerable, despite the lack of artistic quality.<sup>58</sup>

The second contorniate, Pl. XVII. 3,<sup>59</sup> for which I

<sup>56</sup> See, however, for this drama the fragmentary Megarian bowl (Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings*, Fig. 27) representing the *Oedipodeia*, on which the names of the persons are inscribed.

<sup>57</sup> *Mon. Ant.*, xi., xiii.; *Dar. and Sagl.*, Fig. 2026; Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 273. In connection with this contorniate I have gratefully to acknowledge valuable help from Prof. Percy Gardner.

<sup>58</sup> The alternative of the *Phoenissae* of Seneca, in which the blind Oedipus and his daughter play a principal part, may, I think, be rejected, not only on the ground of the rarity of representations of scenes from his dramas, but because Antigone is there certainly older than on the contorniate, the adviser and counsellor of her father, not the mere child, the *persona muta*, of the Euripidean conception.

<sup>59</sup> *Sab.*, xvi. 2, 3, differing in the position of the head. This piece is often tooled and the inscription altered.

would suggest an interpretation, is also connected with tragedy, but in the ideal form usual in art, not encumbered with the conventional stage trappings of the acted drama. It represents a man seated on a rock in an attitude of deep depression, his left foot supported by a projection of the rock, his head resting on his hand. No name has hitherto been assigned to the figure, but the rocks, the attitude, and the position of the left leg, are evidence enough to show that it represents Philoctetes seated alone on the desolate rocks of Lemnos, resting his wounded foot, and gazing about him in despair—

. . . ἄνδρα δύστηνον, μόνον,  
ἔρημον ὧδε κᾶφίλον κακόμενον.<sup>60</sup>

The inscription, NVSI or NVS MAGCON MONIMVS,<sup>61</sup> is spoken of as an unsolved problem by almost every writer on the subject; it was only when my paper was completed that I discovered an explanation in a practically unknown article by the late C. W. King, published in 1871, but since completely overlooked. He suggests that NVS and MONIMVS = Νοῦς and Μόνιμος, Mind and Steadfast, the two horses in the team of the charioteer MAGCON or MAGO, probably an African by birth. This explanation is to me completely satisfactory. Such inscriptions occur not only on pieces representing chariots, but on others of mythological interest, such as Pl. XVII. 4, and the naming of charioteers and steeds together is very common. For the misspellings of MAGCON, and the variants NVSI and NVS, many parallels can be quoted; *e.g.* the spelling of

<sup>60</sup> *Philoct.*, 227, 228.

<sup>61</sup> The inscription reads (in many *untouched* specimens) NVSMACGO MONIMVS, but is often tooled over and altered.



Sallust with one L; the Latinized forms of the Greek names are equally familiar. King's paper is remarkable, not only for this sound and ingenious interpretation, but as the first to suggest the *calculus* theory, though without reference to the analogies presented by the *tabulae*.

The next type,<sup>62</sup> a unique contorniate in the British Museum, has also been misinterpreted. A bearded figure in flowing robes holds up a conical object in his right hand; at his side is Cupid, holding a wreath or disk. Inscr. VRANI NICA; in exergue MVNIO, a mixture of Greek and Latin common on contorniates. Sabatier says of it, "Athlète vêtu de la toge et barbu, regardant à droite et tenant de la main droite un *flabellum*. Derrière Cupidon, tenant de la main droite une couronne ou un disque." Neither of the garments—for there are two—resembles a toga, nor are athletes represented in flowing robes. The dress is that of a woman, and Cupid certainly has some significance beyond that of a merely decorative figure. I believe that we have here a scene dear to Roman artists, Hercules in the costume of Omphale, wearing both chiton and himation, holding the distaff (Sabatier's *flabellum*) in his right hand, while his left pulls at the thread, no longer visible on the contorniate. At his side is Cupid, a common figure in these scenes, who holds up a wreath or garland to the hero. A very similar composition appears in the well-known Capitoline mosaic found

<sup>62</sup> Sab., p. 52; Coh.,<sup>2</sup> p. 304.

Obv.—Bust of Trajan. DIVO TRAIANO.

Rev.—Figures as described. VRANI NICA MVNIO, an inscription independent of the subject, and with the mixture of Greek and Latin noted above in PL XVII. 3.

at Antium,<sup>63</sup> on which Hercules stands spinning, his hands in precisely the same position as here, while about him a group of Cupids play with a captive lion.

Another contorniate, Pl. XVII. 5, shows a spirited group of a youthful hero seizing two bulls; in the exergue a plough.<sup>64</sup> This type is described as follows by Cohen (p. 293): "Milo de Crotone saisissant de chaque main un taureau par les cornes;" by Sabatier: "Hercule ramenant les boeufs qui lui avaient été volés par Cacus." Neither explanation is satisfactory. The chlamys is inappropriate both to Hercules and Milo, and the plough in the exergue (absent in the specimen figured by Sabatier) is clearly of importance to the subject. Moreover, there is no record of Milo's struggling with two bulls—he merely carried a tame one on his shoulders—and the (numerous) cattle of Hercules needed no coercion to make them join their master. I would suggest that a more satisfactory explanation is to be found in the taming of the brazen bulls by Jason, the plough to which he is about to yoke them appearing in the exergue. A relief in Vienna<sup>65</sup> represents the scene in a not dissimilar fashion, but without the vigour which makes this one of the most balanced and original designs to be found on contorniates.

A mythical scene common on contorniates and rare in other works of art is the ship of Odysseus passing

<sup>63</sup> Hefbig., ii. 36; *Mus. Capit.*, iv. 19; cf. Robert, *Ant. Sark.*, Pl. iii. 1; Roscher, *Lexikon*, art. "Omphale."

<sup>64</sup> On the specimen figured by Sabatier (xiii. 5) the plough is absent. The obverse of this specimen bears a laureate head of Nero, in front, an incised palm, IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX.

<sup>65</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Jason." For a description of the contest, see Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 224 *seqq.*

Scylla<sup>66</sup> [Pl. XVII. 6], of which there are many varieties, though the main features are constant. Scylla is represented in the orthodox artistic fashion as a maiden surrounded by dogs and ending in dolphin-tails, who holds a rudder in her left hand, while with her right she seizes a victim from the approaching ship. (Sabatier's "Scylla . . . dans un bige trainé par des dauphins à longue queue relevée" is a misconception.) On the prow of the ship are three figures (in some specimens only two), one of which she seizes by the hair, while a second prepares to attack her with spear and shield, as in the representation of the scene on an Etruscan urn.<sup>67</sup> In the water are several figures, struggling in the waves or in the coils of the dolphin-tails. In the background is the fig-tree of Charybdis. We notice at once that, so far as Scylla is concerned, the scene is not Homeric; she has ceased to be the six-headed and twelve-handed monster whose normal food was dolphins,<sup>68</sup> and has become half dolphin herself, the

*pulchro pectore virgo*

*Pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistriz,  
Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum,*<sup>69</sup>

of Virgil and of art. In the few groups in the round—e.g. those in the Ashmolean Museum and the Ephesus Room of the British Museum<sup>70</sup>—the subject is similarly

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<sup>66</sup> Sab., xiii. 13–15. Other varieties exist. The obverse reads DIVO NERVAE TRAIANO, laureate head to right, palm incised.

<sup>67</sup> Baumeister, Fig. 1762; *Mon. d. Inst.*, iii. 52. 5.

<sup>68</sup> *Od.*, xii. 96.

<sup>69</sup> *Aen.*, iii. 426–428.

<sup>70</sup> B. M. Cat., *Sculpture*, iii. 1542; *Cat. Sculpt. in Ashmolean*, No. 29. Here a large part of the upward-curving dolphin-tails is preserved (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire*, pp. 410, 412).

treated, and the Etruscan urn above quoted is of special interest as showing the dolphin-tails twining round victims, as on some varieties of the contorniate. Charybdis is, I think, indicated not only by the fig-tree in the background, but by the troubled waves surging up and down, that whirlpool which "thrice a day sucked in black waters and thrice belched them forth."

The very rare contorniate in the British Museum figured on **Pl. XVII. 7** (*obv.*, bust of Caracalla, **M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT**) represents features in Roman religion familiar in literature, but curiously rare in art, the taking of the auspices and the feeding of the sacred birds. In the centre of the group stands a figure, laureate and clad in *tunica* and long cloak fastened in front and falling back over his shoulders, turning his head to look at a small bird with flapping wings and a long bill perched on his right hand; with his left he holds a cock. On either side of him is an attendant, in a tunic and short cape—the *alicula*, perhaps, of Martial and Petronius<sup>71</sup>—one of whom bends to feed a long-necked bird, while the second feels the crop of another of the same species. The principal personage is not an augur, whose official insignia were the toga, the veiled head, and the *lituus*,<sup>72</sup> but a military commander taking the auspices from the flight of one bird, and ready to use the divination *ex tripudiis*, or augury drawn from the feeding of the sacred chickens, as the bird on his left hand shows. These chickens were, so to speak, a portable oracle, and much used on campaigns; the classical instance is an incident of the First Punic War. Before the Battle of Drepana (299 B.C.), P.

<sup>71</sup> *Dar. and Sagl.*, s.v. "*Alicula*."

<sup>72</sup> *Liv.*, i. 18. 7.

Claudius Pulcher, commander of the Roman fleet, on hearing that the sacred chickens would not feed, ordered them to be drowned, and, in defiance of the omen, proceeded to give battle, when the outraged gods brought disaster on his head.

The birds fed by the attendants are clearly the sacred geese of Juno Moneta, the saviours of the Capitol from the Gauls, of which we hear little else save that they were considered so important to the State that the first duty of the Censor on entering office was to arrange for placing out the contract for their food.<sup>73</sup> The goose plays no part in augury, and its appearance here with the attendants—possibly *Camilli*—is perplexing. The scene seems to be rather an assembly of sacred birds, their interpreters, and attendants, than a representation of any single act. Three distinct elements in Roman State religion are represented, the sacred geese, the *auspicia ex tripudiis* by the cock, the *auguria impetrativa* by the smaller bird, probably the woodpecker. This last form of augury was drawn from the cries of certain birds, the crow and raven and owl; from the flight of others, the hawk, eagle, osprey, falcon, and vulture; and from both cry and flight, in the case of the woodpecker and the barn-owl. In the present case the flapping wings imply augury from flight at least, and the long bill as well as the small size of the bird points, I think, to the woodpecker, the most sacred of Roman augural birds.<sup>74</sup> A word is needed as to the appearance of such a scene on a piece of this late date. Augury was already a matter of antiquarian interest in the days of Cicero, and his treatise *De Divinatione* was written to stimulate

<sup>73</sup> Plut., *Quaest. Rom.*, 98; Plin., *N. H.*, x. 51.

<sup>74</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Augures."

the decaying zeal of his contemporaries for this branch of religious science, yet it continued as an official institution down to the end of the fourth century A.D., and the names of the latest recorded augurs are known ;<sup>75</sup> consequently, an *imperator* may have taken the auspices within the experience of the designer of this contorniate, a work of very fair style, and of exceptional interest as the only existing representation of an integral part of the Roman religion, the *auguria ex avibus*.

**PL. XVIII.** 1 is a rare and curious contorniate, only known to me from Mionnet's sulphur casts in the British Museum.<sup>76</sup>

**Obv.**—COΛΩNOC Partially bald, clean-shaven head to r., drapery around neck.

**Rev.**—KOINON ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΙΩΝΙΑ (last six letters in exergue) around terminal figures of Artemis Ephesia, with animal supporters, and Zeus Ammon (?).

The name on the obverse adds another Greek worthy to the existing list, but presents a curious difficulty in the type as well as in the perplexing use of the genitive for the nominative. Homer, Demosthenes, Euripides, &c., are conceived as venerable bearded sages of the true philosopher type, and are in keeping with Greek tradition; the present head has nothing in common with these, but appears to be that of a Roman of the last years of the Republic or the early Empire. The solution

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2321. These augurs were Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (ob. 384) and Lucius Ragonius Vetustus (ob. 390).

<sup>76</sup> It is not mentioned either by Cohen or Robert. Visconti (*Icon. Rom.*, I. xiii.) describes it as in the "Cabinet du roi" at Paris, but from its omission by recent writers it has probably disappeared since his time. I did not see Visconti's account of it until after I had discovered the resemblance between the contorniate and the gems, and drawn my conclusions, regarding the piece as unpublished from its omission by all modern writers whether on contorniates or iconography.

of the difficulty presented itself only after the present paper was read at a meeting of the Numismatic Society, when chance threw in my way an engraving of the so-called "Maecenas" (Bern., *Röm. Ikon.*, i. p. 238), most of the replicas of which are signed by the gem-engraver Solon. What has happened is clear. The designer of the contorniate knew the gem, and, mistaking the artist's signature for the name of the person represented, transferred the name as it stood to the contorniate. The meaningless genitive gave him no trouble: he copied the forms of the *sigma*, but transformed  $\Omega$  into the more familiar  $\omega$ . The bald head, the large and ill-formed ear, the features, the drapery at the neck, are all carefully reproduced, and the mistake, impossible as it would at first appear for a Roman die-cutter (though fallen into by antiquaries of the Renaissance), is easily explicable when we consider how illiterate the makers of contorniates appear to have been. (See Note at the end of this paper.)

The care exercised on the obverse prepares us to regard without suspicion the very remarkable reverse. One of the deities represented is clearly Artemis Ephesia, but the artist has misunderstood the nimbus round her head and the fillets depending from her hands, which he has reproduced as a long veil stretched out over her arms—a mistake which a glance at the Artemis type at once explains. The animals at her feet are either her proper attributes the deer, clumsily represented by the artist, or hares or wolves. I incline to the former view, considering that the mistakes over the nimbus and fillets prove that the artist had a genuine archaic type before him. The second divinity is a draped and bearded terminal figure with ram's horns, resembling that on a small

bronze coin of Samos.<sup>77</sup> Zeus Ammon is a common type on coins of Asia Minor,<sup>78</sup> and the terminal figure probably represents that deity, allying himself as the protector of one city with another represented by the Ephesian Artemis. The inscription is the puzzle. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΙΩΝΙΑ is found on coins of the city of Metropolis,<sup>79</sup> where Artemis Ephesia is a well-known type, but the word KOINON brings in a new element. Metropolis was not one of the thirteen cities of the Ionian League,<sup>80</sup> nor is an alliance in which it took part recorded on any known coin, yet the contorniate, if trustworthy, furnishes evidence of an alliance between it and another city by preserving this unknown coin type. It is, of course, possible that the contorniate may present an instance of contamination between an unknown KOINON type of the Ionian League and an unknown coin of Metropolis; but it seems to me improbable. In the first place, as the coin is unknown for both League and city, the hypothesis involves a double instead of a single assumption; secondly, the reverse bears every trace of being copied direct from a coin in the arrangement of the inscription, the carefully copied lettering,<sup>81</sup> and the blunders committed in the figure of Artemis, all of which would be unlikely unless the artist had an actual coin before him. The very few existing specimens of coins of the Ionian League, most of which have turned up in recent years,

<sup>77</sup> Where, however, owing to bad preservation, the horns are not distinct (B. M. Cat., *Ionian*, Pl. xxxvi. 17).

<sup>78</sup> See Indexes of Types, B. M. Cat., *Troas, Galatia, Pontus*.

<sup>79</sup> B. M. Cat., *Ionian*, pp. 175 *seqq*; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 502.

<sup>80</sup> B. M. Cat., *Ionian*, p. 16.

<sup>81</sup> *E.g.* the form Ω is thrice carefully reproduced, whereas the obverse bears the ω common at the date of the contorniate.



would hardly have been familiar to an artist of the Renaissance, or conceivable from imagination only.

Finally the question arises—Is the piece which presents so many remarkable elements a forgery? I think the answer must be in the negative. The portrait was indeed familiar to the artists of the Renaissance, but no forger would have combined it with an interesting but inappropriate and at that date unintelligible coin of the Ionian League. Neither the lettering nor the treatment of the face recalls the known forgery bearing the heads of Anaxarchus and Nicocreon, and on the reverse an (untranslatable) inscription in bold square lettering alluding to an event in the life of Anaxarchus. A Renaissance artist would have introduced an apophthegm of Solon, not an obscure Greek coin type, whose very obscurity, together with the carefully reproduced inscription and the blundered Artemis, indicates that the artist had a genuine coin before him. It is, I think, not too much to say that the obverse and reverse of **Pl. XVIII. 1** are among the most interesting and suggestive of contorniate types, the former illustrating the artistic methods of the maker and the value of his iconography, the latter of some historical value as preserving an interesting coin type which records a new fact in the obscure history of the coast towns of Asia Minor.

**Nos. 2 and 4, Pl. XVIII.**, types hitherto unpublished, are in the collection of Sir John Evans, through whose kindness they are now reproduced. **Pl. XVIII. 2—**

*Obv.*—**APOLLO P**. Bust of Apollo to l., fillet around head, short hair, behind the symbol **E** lightly incised in double lines.

*Rev.*—**PATRICIVS** Nude male figure facing, powerfully built, ears swollen, arms hanging by his side; from his hands fall drops, represented by three lines of incuse dots. To his l. a pitcher, placed

on a rising mass of rock (?). As on obverse, inscription lightly incised.

The only head of Apollo published as a contorniate type occurs on a "unique" specimen in a private collection at Naples,<sup>82</sup> on which the head is laureate. The inscription reads APOLLO PITHIVS, which explains the APOLLO P of Sir John Evans's example. Heads of gods are rare on contorniates, and the very unusual Apollo type is also of interest. The name on the reverse, Patricius, is only known in three places in ancient literature: Photius refers to one who was a philosopher; a collection of hexameters included in the *Corpus* of Latin poets passes under that name;<sup>83</sup> and Boethius dedicated his commentary on the *Topica* of Cicero to one Patricius, whom he addresses as *rhethorum peritissime*. Here the name is probably that of the athlete represented, who in build and proportions closely resembles the unattractive figures on the mosaics of the Baths of Caracalla. The vessel by his side and the drops falling from his hands, hardly visible in the reproduction, but distinct in the original, are undoubtedly connected: either he has been bathing, and the vessel placed on the rocks indicates a spring, or he has been rubbing himself with oil contained in the jug. I incline to the former interpretation, as the use of the strigil to scrape off the oil shows that it was far from liquid, and would therefore hardly drip off the user's hands in the manner here represented.

**PL. XVIII. 4** is another unpublished piece of barbarous workmanship, also in the collection of Sir John Evans.

*Obv.*—Head of Alexander, type of **PL. XVII. 1**.

*Rev.*—Chubby figure to l., one foot raised, r. arm extended. No inscription.

<sup>82</sup> *Coh.*,<sup>2</sup> viii. p. 274.

<sup>83</sup> *Bibl.*, p. 454, ed. Bekk.

The pose and proportions of the figure on the reverse suggest a Cupid of the ordinary Roman type, but wings and attributes are, it must be admitted, indistinguishable. It may possibly, therefore, be intended for an athlete, though the general appearance is that of a child, and in the absence of any certain indication either way, I lean to the former interpretation.

Returning to PL. XVIII. 3, the obverse, already referred to in connection with the symbol  $\Xi$ , is a typical example both of the rendering of imperial heads on contorniates and of the usual position and appearance of one variety of the symbol.<sup>84</sup> The reverse has been connected, though with hesitation, with the myth of Apollo and Marsyas. It represents a naked man, his hands bound behind his back (a tree appears in the background in many specimens), a small figure in a tunic (not very clear in the present example) crouching on the ground behind him; on a rock to the left sits a fully draped personage in an attitude of meditation. The drapery has led all numismatists to describe this figure as female, hence a difficulty in accounting for a version of the story which should replace Apollo by a sorrowing woman.<sup>85</sup> The explanation is simple: the disputed figure is not a woman, but Apollo Citharoedus, seated on a rock with flowing hair and rich drapery, just as Praxiteles represents him on the Mantinean Basis, thoughtfully watching the preparations for the torture of his rival, for whom the crouching Scythian slave sharpens his knife. This curious misunderstanding emphasizes the need of archaeological as well as numismatic training in dealing with objects so rich in mythological illustration as contorniates.

<sup>84</sup> *Obr.* reads TRAIANVS AVG COS IIII P P · Laureate bust to r.

<sup>85</sup> *Sab.*, xix. 9; Guecchi, *Riv. Ital.*, 1895, p. 243; *Coh.*,<sup>2</sup> viii. p. 300.

Pl. XVIII. 5 presents a problem of another order. Sabatier, followed by Cohen, describes as a contorniate a piece in the British Museum :—

*Obv.*—"Buste de Trajan à droite."

*Rev.*—"Le Nil, sous la figure d'un homme nu, barbu, la tête ornée de la fleur du lotus, et assis à droite sur un sphinx, tient sur la main gauche un enfant et une corne d'abondance sur le bras droit. Devant, l'Égypte assise à gauche, tenant deux épis dans la main droite. Dans le champ, huit petits enfants voltigeant dans les airs. Dessous, le Nil, dont on voit les flots."<sup>86</sup>

Cohen adds, "inscription illégible." The piece is, however, not a contorniate at all, but an Æ 2. of Trajan struck at Alexandria. The legend is perfectly clear, and the description should run as follows :—

*Obv.*—TPAIAN CEB ΓΕΡΜ ΔΑΚ Laureate bust to r.

*Rev.*—Nilus seated, leaning on androsphinx and holding cornucopiae, out of which emerges a Cubit ; another is on his knee, and in the field are eight more. Opposite Nilus reclines Euthenia, holding reed and ear of corn. In field L<sup>18</sup> = 16, referring both to the year of the emperor's reign and to the sixteen cubits of a good year,<sup>87</sup> a legend only found on Nilus types.<sup>88</sup>

The exergue appears to have been divided off by a deep line, and is filled by a species of vertical folds (?) explained by Sabatier as waves, which do not, I think, belong to the original design. I can quote no parallel to them on the coins of Alexandria, but it is impossible to doubt that the piece is an actual coin. The raised and beaded circle found here as on all Alexandrian bronze issues, appears to have been mistaken for the

<sup>86</sup> Sab., p. 69.

<sup>87</sup> Plin., *N. H.*, ix. 10.

<sup>88</sup> B. M. Cat., *Alexandria*, pp. lxxvi.-lxxvii.

*incised* line round the edge of a contorniate, and so to have originated the mistake; but its repetition by Cohen, the incorrect descriptions given especially in the omission of the inscription, and the unusually large number of Cubits represented, call for some notice here.

In bringing these studies to a close, I would dwell on what remains to be done, rather than what has been already accomplished. My paper, it is true, is somewhat hypothetical, though not, I hope, unreasonably so; but, as Sir Thomas Browne says, it may "sound arrogantly unto present ears in this strict enquiring age, wherein, for the most part, 'probably' and 'perhaps' will hardly mollify the spirit of captious contradictors." Many curious and perplexing types remain unexplained which well deserve the attention of numismatists, and seeing how much light contorniates, or, to use their ancient name, *calculi*, throw on popular conceptions of myth and legend, on the circus and amphitheatre, and on the daily life of Rome, it is to be hoped that fresh attention may be directed to a neglected branch of numismatics—for their close connection with coins may still allow the name—when the contorniate will doubtless be restored to more than its former archaeological importance, which it owed to a misplaced belief in the value of its iconography.

In conclusion, I have to express my warm thanks to Sir John Evans and to the officials of the Medal Room of the British Museum, for unfailing kindness and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above paper was written, I have, through the kindness of Mr. Searle, traced from a reference in *Daremberg and Saglio*, art. "Latrunculi," a paper by the late C. W. King, *On the True Nature of the Contorniate Medallions*, which is not referred to by a single recent writer on the subject, though published in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1871, vol. xxviii. p. 210, and reprinted two years later in a volume entitled *Early Christian Numismatics*. He suggests that they are neither amulets nor medallions, but *calculi*, and cites the analogies of the glass *calculi* already identified, of the modern Hindoo draughtsmen for the raised rim, and (for the use of devices on obverse and reverse) the mediaeval pieces, some of which perpetuate the actual subjects represented on contorniates. He further suggests that the heads and the widely differing colour of the bronze would sufficiently distinguish the sides, and mentions that eighteenth-century German wooden draughtsmen are met with, bearing on the obverse a head, on the reverse some minutely carved subject. He also believes that the symbols were marks of distinction and value, perhaps indicating the three classes mentioned by Isidorus, the *ordinarii* who moved one way, the *vagi* who moved any way, the *inciti* who were immovable. His brilliant interpretation of the inscription of **PL. XVII. 3** I have incorporated in the text of my paper.

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NOTE ON P. 259.—Furtwängler (*Ant. Gemmen*, iii. p. 354) states that all the existing replicas of this famous Augustan gem, which he calls "Cicero," appear to be Renaissance copies of a lost original; if this is so, the evidence of the contorniate, a copy more than a thousand years older, becomes of great importance.

## XII.

### ANGLO-GALLIC COINS.

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 392.)

(See Plates XIX.-XXIII.)

#### EDWARD II.

I HAVE been unable to identify any Anglo-Gallic coins which can be attributed to this reign. We have, unfortunately, no records to guide us in classifying the Anglo-Gallic coins of the three Edwards, and we can only arrive at the probable sequence of issues by a study of the styles of the coins themselves, and of the state of affairs in France during the years of each reign. I have tried to the best of my ability to classify on these lines certain coins which I have attributed to Edward I, and an examination of these coins with those attributed to Edward III will reveal one broad distinction. Edward I on his coins always spells his name in full—Edwardus or Edvardus. Edward III, on his silver coins, usually abbreviates his name to Ed., although on some of his earlier coins he spells his name Edovardus, or more rarely Edvardus. He very rarely uses the abbreviation Edward or Edvard, and hardly ever (except on his gold coins) Edwardus. The types of Edward III's coins are, with a single exception, quite distinct from the types of Edward I's coins, the single exception being a denier and obole

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of Guessin, on which, however, the King's name is spelt Ed. simply.

There are no coins of an intermediate or transition type which might be attributed to the reign of Edward II.

If we turn to the political side of the question, we find a period in which it is not surprising that the mints of Guienne and Ponthieu were idle. As we have seen, the English hold over Guienne was not of a very strong character at the end of Edward I's reign, and Edward II was too busy with home affairs during the first years of his reign to pay much attention to his French possessions. In 1321 Charles the Fair, seeking to possess himself of Edward's French dominions, summoned him to appear and to do homage. Edward failed to do so, and Charles confiscated his lands, and proceeded to take possession of them by force of arms. Edward then sent over his wife Isabella to Paris, to treat with the French king, and in 1325 he granted to his son Edward the Duchy of Guienne and the Earldom of Ponthieu, and sent him to Paris to do homage. Philip thereupon restored Guienne, but retained the Agenais.

Thus I think we may well assume that a period of some years elapsed without any issue of coins, and that none occurred between the latest of Edward I and the earliest of Edward III. At any rate, I cannot ascribe any coins to Edward II's reign.

### EDWARD III.

The reign of Edward III is the most important in the whole history of the Anglo-Gallic coinage. The types of coins attributed to him, and the varieties of each type, are very numerous, and it is exceedingly difficult, in the

absence of any documentary evidence, to arrive at any classification or chronological sequence of issue of the coinages assigned to him.

As in the case of the English coinage, so also in the Anglo-Gallic series, Edward III's reign is notable for the introduction of a gold coinage and a new silver coin, the gros or groat, but probably, as we shall see later, his introduction of both the gold coinage and the silver gros for his French possessions preceded by some years the introduction of a gold coinage and the silver groat into England.

Certain dates afford landmarks by which we can, partially at any rate, classify the coins of this reign. In 1337 Edward formally assumed the title of "King of France," which he had originally claimed on the death of Charles IV of France, in 1328. His title of "Rex Francie" is used on some of his gold coins, which must therefore have been struck after 1337. He very rarely uses the title on his silver coins.

In 1360 Edward entered into the Treaty of Brétigny, by which he waived his claim to the throne of France, and assumed instead the title of "Lord of Aquitaine." All his coins, therefore, which bear the title "Dux Aquitanie" must have been struck before 1360, and those bearing the title "Dominus Aquitanie" after 1360.

In 1362 Edward raised the province of Aquitaine into a Principality, and appointed his son, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Aquitaine. He gave him also the right to strike money for the Principality in his own name.

In 1369 war again broke out between England and France, and Edward re-assumed the title of "King of France."

In 1372 the Black Prince, whose health had completely broken down, resigned the Principality into the hands of his father, who retained it until his death in 1377.

There are therefore two periods to which we may ascribe the coins bearing the title "Dominus Aquitanie," namely, 1360-1362 and 1372-1377. In the latter period, however, we should expect the title of "King of France" to be added, but as no coins occur with both titles on them, it is possible that none were struck during those years.

Edward's gold coins consist of four different denominations—the florin, the écu or chaise, the leopard, and the guiennois. These were probably struck in the order named. The florin, which bears the legend "Dux Aquitanie" simply, was probably struck prior to Edward's assumption of the title of "King of France," that is, before 1337. It is copied from the well-known *florino d'oro* first struck at Florence in 1252, which had been copied by almost every king, bishop, and feudal vassal possessing the right of coinage throughout Europe. It had been widely copied in France, not only in the regal money, but also in the various feudal coinages current during the fourteenth century, and Edward may very well have followed the fashion and struck a gold florin for Aquitaine without attracting the attention that the introduction of a gold coinage into England did some years later.

The florin, together with the half-florin and quarter-florin, was introduced into England six years later, in 1343, but it did not follow the *florino d'oro* type, and the coins are wrongly named. The English florin corresponds with the double florin of the Continent, the half-florin with the Florentine florin, and the quarter with the half-florin. The weight of the florin of Aquitaine

is about 54 grains, and its value was equivalent to the English half-florin, which was current for 3s.

In 1337 Edward formally assumed the title of "King of France," and he probably thought it necessary soon after that date to emphasize his claim by striking a new gold coin bearing the title "Rex Francie," and he naturally at first adopted the type of his adversary. The coin struck by him was the *écu*, or *chaise*, which is a close copy of the *écu* of Philip VI of France, first struck in 1336. Le Blanc states that Edward struck the *écu* in 1339, but cites no authority. Ainslie gives 1346 as the date of issue, but this would make it contemporaneous with the leopard, which is unlikely. I think 1339 must be about the date of issue.

The weight of the *écu* appears to be about 70 grains, or the equivalent of the earliest half-nobles in England, current for 3s. 4d.

The *écu* was in a few years superseded by a new gold coin, the leopard. It would seem that Edward thought it derogatory to copy his rival's coins, and so altered his type from that of the French regal coins to one having for its type the leopard of England, in order to emphasize the fact that it was the King of England who claimed the throne of France.

With regard to the leopard of Edward III, Ainslie has drawn attention to the fact that there appear to be three distinct issues before 1360, weighing respectively 70 grains, 65 grains, and 60 grains. These correspond exactly with the three issues of nobles in England, the leopard being equivalent to the half-noble.<sup>1</sup> He also notes

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<sup>1</sup> An entry in the Exchequer Accounts for 1359 states that 40 gold leopards were the equivalent of £6 13s. 4d. in English money.

another similarity in the fact that the leopard of the first issue is extremely rare, and the leopard of the third issue is the most common. In the English series only two examples are known of the noble of the first issue, and the half-noble is unknown; while the noble of the third issue, and its parts, are quite common.

After the Treaty of Brétigny, in 1360, the leopard continued to be struck, the obverse legend being changed to suit the altered state of affairs. The issues appear to have been very irregular, as we get no fewer than three different legends, some reading "Rex Anglie" simply, others adding "Dns Aquitanie" or "Dns Agitanie z hyb."

Edward, however, evidently thought that the altered state of affairs required a new coinage. A new one was accordingly prepared and issued. The new coin was named the guiennois, probably after the province of Guienne, for which it was struck exclusively, as opposed to the previous coins which had been intended for French regal coins. This new coinage commemorates the peace between England and France in the reverse motto, "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus."

There are four issues of this coin, the first exceedingly rare, possibly only a pattern for the new coinage, the second and third rare, and the fourth comparatively common. Besides their name, these coins bear another trace of their local character in having, for the first time on gold coins, the initial letter of the town or mint at which they were issued. The mints in use were Bordeaux, Limoges, Poitiers, Rochelle, and possibly Fontenay or Figeac.

We are now confronted with this question—Were these coins struck between 1360 and 1362, or between 1372 and 1377? The leopards, which omit the title of

"King of France," must have been struck in 1360, immediately after the Treaty of Brétigny. The first two issues of the guiennois, which have a reverse type closely resembling that of the leopard, were also probably struck at the end of 1360 or at the beginning of 1361. The third issue is similar in general type to the fourth or common issue, but, in the style of lettering and mode of abbreviation of the King's titles, resembles the two first issues, and, as I hope to show later on, it cannot have been struck after 1372, as it bears the mint-letter of Fontenay, which was taken by Du Guesclin in 1372. But to which period are we to ascribe the fourth issue, which is the commonest of all? It must have been a fairly extensive issue, as there were three mints—Limoges, Poitiers, and Rochelle—all actively engaged in striking money, and the coins of all these mints are equally common. But in spite of this, I think that this issue was undoubtedly struck in the two years 1361 and 1362.

My reasons are, in the first place, that the coins do not bear the title of "King of France," which Edward had re-assumed in 1369, and it is hardly conceivable that they would have omitted that most important item if they had been struck between 1372 and 1377. Secondly, they have the "peace" motto, which would have been strangely out of place on coins struck during the latter period. And lastly, the town of Poitiers, where coins of this issue were largely struck, opened its gates to Du Guesclin in 1371, and Charles V of France re-established the royal mint there in the following year.<sup>2</sup> This last reason seems to me to be absolutely conclusive.

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<sup>2</sup> See Lecointre-Dupont's *Monnaies de Poitou*, p. 139.

If this is correct, there must have been a large issue of these coins early in 1361, to take the place of the leopards struck before 1360.

The weight of the guiennois was 60·6 grains, or 63 pieces to the mark.

Before leaving the gold coinage, I ought, perhaps, to mention a coin which has hitherto been ascribed to Edward III. I mean the mouton d'or. It is an excessively rare coin, the only specimen that I know being in the British Museum. It bears the Paschal Lamb on the obverse, with "Edvard" below and the motto, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis," and on the reverse a cross with four fleurs-de-lys in the angles.<sup>3</sup> The type is copied from a coin introduced by Philip III of France (1270-1285).

I think it is extremely improbable that this coin was struck by Edward III. It is not one which he would naturally have struck for Aquitaine before 1337, and it is extremely unlikely that he would have issued a coin subsequent to that date which neither bore his title of "King of France" nor quartered the English leopard with the French fleurs-de-lys on the reverse. The type was one which had been frequently adopted in the Low Countries, and I think it is far more probable that this coin was struck by Edward, Duke of Guelders (1361). If it is attributed to Edward III, I should say that it was a pattern for the new coinage to be struck in 1337, but which was discarded in favour of the écu.

We now come to the silver and billon coins of Edward III, and here we have a far harder task before us in arranging them in chronological sequence. It is

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<sup>3</sup> This coin is illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. ix. 271.



easy enough to make one broad division between the coins bearing the title "Dux Aquitanie," which must have been struck before 1360, and those bearing the title "Dominus Aquitanie," which must have been struck after that date; but unfortunately the former class is a very large one, and includes many coins of the same denomination and of different types. There are also certain coins which do not bear the Aquitaine title at all, notably the double tournois, so that even this test is sometimes of no help.

In the absence of any documentary evidence as to sequence of issues, I have thought it advisable simply to classify each denomination into separate issues according to some marked distinction in type, in the hope that this may facilitate a closer study of these coins, and may reveal some clue to a proper chronological sequence.

Taking the gros first, we have five distinct types—the lion gros, the gros tournois, the gros tournois with the leopard passant added, the gros à la couronne, and the gros of the leopard couchant type.

The lion gros has for its reverse type a lion rampant to left. The design is copied from the lion gros of Louis I of Flanders (1322–1346), and in this connection it is interesting to note that in the year 1339 Edward entered into treaties with the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Brabant, with a view to the invasion of France. On the 3rd December, 1339, the Count of Flanders entered into a treaty with the Duke of Brabant, at the instigation of Edward, and one of the terms of the treaty was as follows:—

"Nous avons ordonné, pour entretenir le dit commerce et négoce dans les susdits deux pais, que l'on ordonnera

et frappera une monnoye commune, bonne et loyale, qui aura son cour dans les deux pays susdits, laquelle demeurera en un même point, sans qu'il y soit jamais fait aucun changement, si ce n'est du consentement unanime des deux princes et pais susmentionnez."

The coin struck in accordance with this treaty was the lion gros of Louis, and we may, I think, assume that Edward struck the lion gros of similar type to that of his two allies at the same period, so that his French coinage, with which, no doubt, his troops in France were paid, might be freely interchangeable with the money of his allies.

The lion gros bears the obverse legend "Edovardus Rex," and on the reverse either "Dux Aquitanie" or the name of the town of mintage. The mints employed were Agen, Bordeaux, and La Rochelle. There is also a lion gros bearing the obverse legend "Ed. Rex Anglie" and the reverse "Dux Aquitanie."

The gros tournois follows the type introduced into France by Louis IX in 1250. There are very many types of this coin (which is the commonest of Edward's gros), which I shall describe fully when I come to the detailed descriptions of the coins of this reign. Our difficulties in classifying the different issues are not lessened by the fact that the majority of specimens met with are in poor preservation, and one seldom comes across a specimen on which the whole of the legends are clearly distinguishable. The weights too differ to an extraordinary extent, and it is extremely hard to decide whether a coin ought to be classed as a gros or as a demi-gros. In the following classification I have been guided rather by the size of the coin than by its weight.

The legends on the gros tournois are invariably "Ed. Rex Anglie" and "Dux Aquitanie."

The next type of gros is really a variety of the preceding type, adding merely a leopard passant to the design on the reverse.

The gros à la couronne is copied from a gros of John, introduced by him into the French regal coinage in 1355. It is not a common type.

The gros with the leopard couchant for its reverse type is a new piece altogether, and is not copied from any coin in the French series. There are two issues, one with a short cross, and the other with a long cross on the obverse. It is also an uncommon type.

The demi-gros occurs of the lion type from the mint of Rochelle, and also with the legends "Ed. Rex Anglie" and "Dux Aquitanie;" but both are rare. We also have the demi-gros of the usual tournois type, but the issues of this type do not appear to correspond with the issues of the gros tournois. One variety has the strange reverse legend "Dns Hibernie" in the place of the usual "Dux Aquitanie." This coin is perhaps the commonest coin of the reign. What the reason of the reverse legend is, I cannot say, and, so far as I can ascertain, there has never been any attempt to explain it. From its type and general appearance, it must have been struck in France for Edward's French possessions; but why it should bear his title of "Lord of Ireland," I cannot conceive.

The demi-gros tournois with the leopard added also occurs, but here again the types do not correspond with those of the gros.

There is another type of demi-gros which is very common, and of which there are many varieties; but it

does not correspond with any of the types of the gros. It has for the reverse design a leopard passant to left below a crown. There appear to have been two issues—one heavy, weighing from 30 to 35 grains; and the other light, weighing from 16 to 20 grains. Perhaps the introduction of this type corresponds with the introduction of the leopard in the gold series.

The sterling and demi-sterling are of one type only, and correspond exactly with the English penny and halfpenny. In type, too, they more nearly resemble coins of the English series than the majority of Anglo-Gallic coins. They have the obverse legend "Edward Rex Angl." instead of the usual "Ed. Rex Anglie."

The denier and obole are also all of one type, a leopard passant on the obverse and a cross pattée on the reverse, or *vice versâ*, the obverse legend being the usual "Ed. Rex Anglie." The majority have MB below the leopard, for the Bordeaux mint, and there is also a denier and an obole with G below the leopard, for Guessin.

The last denomination is the double tournois, and as these do not as a rule bear the title "Dux Aquitanie," they may not all have been struck during the period before 1360. We have, therefore, no guide to the date when they were issued, so I have described them all with the coins of this period.

They may be divided broadly into two types—one with a crown on the obverse, copied from a similar coin of Charles IV of France; and the other having a leopard passant to left, a difference corresponding with the difference between the écu and the leopard, and the demi-gros tournois and the demi-gros with the leopard passant to left below a crown. The analogy may be carried further, as the écu, demi-gros tournois, and

double tournois of the crown type, are all scarcer than the leopard, demi-gros, and double of the leopard type.

There are four distinct issues of the double of the crown type, and three of the double of the leopard type. The latter occurs with the mint-names of Agen and Poitiers.

Before I pass on to the coins struck after the Treaty of Brétigny, I must mention certain municipal coins of Bordeaux issued during this period. The first is a pattern double gros, a piedfort of which is in the British Museum. It does not resemble in type any current coin, but appears to be copied from a gros parisis of Philip VI of France. The obverse legend is "Ed. Rex Anglie Fra," and the reverse "Bur Civis Argnti."

There is also a double of Bordeaux city, with the obverse legend "Ed. Rex Anglie" and the reverse "Civitas Burdegale." It has for obverse type a half-length figure crowned, which was one common to the coins of Castille and Catalonia at this period. This similarity seems to point to the probability of its having been struck during John of Gaunt's lieutenancy of Aquitaine.

A denier of Bordeaux city bears the same legends as the double, and has for obverse type a crowned head facing. It is probably contemporaneous with the double.

The denier of this type also occurs with the mint-names of Bergerac and D'Ax, but these bear the simple legend "Dux Aquitanie" instead of "Ed. Rex Anglie." I think it is quite possible that they also were struck by the authority of John of Gaunt, especially as they do not bear Edward's name, but simply the legend "Dux Aquitanie."

John of Gaunt was accorded the right of coinage for

Bergerac, in the grant of the Lordship of Bergerac to him by Edward the Black Prince, on October 8, 1370; and this right is repeated in the King's confirmation of the grant.

Edward III granted John of Gaunt for two years the right of coinage in Bayonne, Guiche, and the Landes, on June 12, 1377, and Richard II made a similar grant, also for two years, in March, 1380. In Edward's grant the mints named are Bayonne and Guiche, near Bordeaux; in Richard's, Bayonne and D'Ax.

In 1390 John of Gaunt was granted the Duchy of Aquitaine, with the right of coinage.<sup>4</sup>

No coins are known bearing John of Gaunt's name, but it hardly seems likely that he allowed the valuable and highly prized right of coinage to go unexercised. We cannot very well attribute the denier of Bergerac to the period subsequent to October, 1370, as it bears the title "Dux Aquitanie," and John was not created Duke of Aquitaine until 1390; but, as I shall show later, I consider the attribution of the denier to Bergerac to be very likely founded on a blundered reading of a coin of D'Ax, and, as John's hold on Bergerac was very precarious, it is quite possible that he was never in a position to exercise his right. I will discuss this point more fully when the coins of Bergerac struck by Henry of Lancaster are described.

It would be very interesting if we could attribute the double and denier of Bordeaux and the denier of D'Ax to John of Gaunt. The two former would be struck at the mint of Guiche under Edward III's

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<sup>4</sup> I take these dates and facts from Mr. Armitage Smith's *John of Gaunt*, Appendix VI.

grant, as they bear his name; and the denier of D'Ax, subsequent to 1390. I hope further research may throw more light on this question.

We now pass on to the silver coins struck subsequent to the Treaty of Brétigny. These are much easier to arrange than the silver coins struck before that date. There is a regular issue of gros, demi-gros, and sterlings with a half-length profile figure of the King, and of lion deniers of two types.

One other coinage has to be mentioned, which completes the coins struck by Edward III, namely, the coinage of Ponthieu. It consists of a denier and an obole. In describing the coins of Edward I, I have already stated that I have transferred the Ponthieu coins usually attributed to Edward III to Edward I, and *vice versa*, and that one of my reasons for so doing is that the coins attributed by me to Edward III have the King's name spelt Edoardus. Now, Edward III spells his name Edovardus on his lion gros struck in 1339. I think we may say that this is the period in which he is most likely to have made his first issue of coins for Ponthieu, and the similarity in the spelling of the King's name would thus be accounted for.

I now pass on to a detailed description of the coins.

## GOLD COINS.

### Florin.

1. *Obv.*—✠ S IONATHANES B. Open crown at beginning and end of legend. Full-length figure of St. John the Baptist, facing, his r. hand raised, his l. holding a staff. The figure extends from the top of the coin to the bottom, dividing the legend. No inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX ✕ ACITANIE. Large fleur-de-lys extending from the top of the coin to the bottom, dividing the legend. No inner circle.

Wt. 53 grs.

British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, Pl. ix. 272.

2. Type as last, but crown at the beginning and leopard's head at the end of the obverse legend.

Wt. 44.2 grs. [PL. XIX. 1.] Cab. de Fr.

It will be noticed that this coin does not bear Edward's name, but I think there can be no doubt that it was struck by Edward III. The crown on the obverse is a symbol constantly used by him on his coins, and the style of lettering more nearly corresponds with his coins than with those of Edward I. It is hardly likely it was struck so early as 1286–1292, which is the period to which we should have to attribute it if we assigned it to Edward I. It was probably struck a few years prior to 1337.

It is rather rare, the variety with the leopard's head at the end of the obverse legend being the scarcer of the two types.

Écu or Chaise.

*Obv.*—✠ EDVVARDVS: DEI ✕ \*G·R·A ✕ \*A·G·L: FRANQIA: REX. The King, crowned, seated on a throne with a sword in his r. hand and at his l. hand a shield bearing the arms of France semé de lys. The base of the throne cuts the inner circle, and divides the legend between the two saltire stops. The upper part of the throne is contained within a double tressure of eight arches with trefoils at the angles and in the spandrils. Beaded inner circle.



*Rev.*—✠XP:Q:VINQIT:XPQ:RΘGNAT:XPQ:IMPΘRAT. Trefoil after the P in the first XPQ. Cross with each limb ending in an open quatrefoil, from which spring three trefoils; quatrefoil in centre. The whole within a quatrefoil foliated at each angle and with a trefoil in each spandril.

Wt. 69·2 grs. [PL. XIX. 2.]

British Museum.

(See also Montagu Sale Catalogue, Part IV. Pl. v. 328, for another illustration of this coin.)

This piece is fairly common, but I have not met with a specimen differing from the type described in any particular.<sup>5</sup> It would therefore appear that there was only one issue of this coin, and that a fairly large one.

The motto on the reverse ("Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands") was the war-cry of the army of the first Crusade, under Philip I of France, and had been used as a motto on many of the French gold coins down to this period.

Leopard.

*First Issue, 1344.*

*Obv.*—✠ADVWARDVS·DΘI·GRΛ·ΛGLI·FRANQIΛ·RΘX. Stops, trefoils. Leopard crowned, passant guardant, to l., within a tressure of ten arches (nine visible), with trefoils at the angles and in the spandrils. The leopard's head is very large and pierces the tressure; the tail is curved over the back and then runs straight back, dividing into several forks and piercing the tressure. The whole is of very crude workmanship. Beaded inner circle.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, Poey d'Avant, Pl. lxi. 3, a variety in the B. Fillon Collection, reading DOI instead of DΘI. I have not seen this coin.

*Rev.*—✠ XPC : VINCIIT : XPC : RAGNAT : XPC : IN-  
PARRAT. Stops, open quatrefoils. Floriated  
cross, each limb ending in a trefoil, within an  
ornamented quatrefoil, with open quatrefoils  
in the spandrils. Leopard passant guardant  
to l. in each angle of cross. Quatrefoil com-  
partment in centre, enclosing rosette. No  
inner circle.

Wt. 69 grs. [Pl. XIX. 3.]

British Museum.

The only specimen of this coin of which I know is  
that in the British Museum. It came from General  
Ainslie's Collection.

*Second Issue, 1346.*

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARDVS (sic) : DEI : GRA : ANGLI : FRANQ :  
RAX. Stops, open quatrefoils. Same general  
type as last issue, but the execution is much  
better. The leopard's head is smaller, and is  
surmounted by a small crown. The tail only  
makes one curve over the back, and then turns  
upwards, ending in three points. The whole  
within a tressure of ten arches, with trefoils  
at the angles and in the spandrils.

*Rev.*—✠ XPC : VINCIIT : XPC : RAGNAT : XPC : IN-  
PARRAT. Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as  
last, but beaded inner circle, and the limbs of  
the cross are beaded instead of plain, and so  
is the inner line of the enclosing quatrefoil  
compartment.

Wt. 65.3 grs. [Pl. XIX. 4.]

British Museum.

Notice the form of the R's in the legends.

There was a leopard in the Montagu Collection  
(Part IV. Pl. v. 327), which apparently belonged to this  
issue, but no weight is given. It reads EDWARDVS, &c.,

on the obverse, and XPQ, &c., on the reverse. Poey d'Avant also describes a variety (No. 2845) in the B. Fillon Collection, with saltire stops.

*Third Issue, 1351-1360.*

1. *Obv.*—✠ EDWARDVS DEI GRA ANGLIA FRANGIA REX. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last, but the leopard has a large crown, overlapping his ears, and the tail curls further upwards. The tressure has ten arches, with quatrefoils at the angles and in all the spandrils except that opposite the root of the tail, which has a star of five points.

*Rev.*—✠ XPQ : VINQIT : XPQ : REGHAT : XPQ : IMPERAT. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last. Open quatrefoils in spandrils of quatrefoil compartment.

Wt. 55·8 grs. [Pl. XIX. 5.]

British Museum.

2. As last, but nine arches only in tressure on obverse, which is just pierced by the leopard's tail. The N's in the legends all thus, H, with the exception of that in VINQIT.

Wt. 56·6 grs.

British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. ix. 269.

A specimen of type 1 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris reads ANGLIA on the obverse.

*Fourth Issue, 1360.*

1. With English title only.

*Obv.*—✠ EDVWARDVS : DEI : GRA : ANGLIA : REX. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last, tressure of ten arches, quatrefoils at angles and in spandrils.

*Rev.*—✠ XPQ : VINQIT : XPQ : REGHAT : XPQ : IMPERAT. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last.

Wt. 56 grs. [Pl. XIX. 6.]

British Museum.

## 2. With English and Aquitaine titles.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARDVS · REX · ANGLIÆ · DNS · ACITANIÆ.  
Stops, annulets. Type as third issue.

*Rev.*—Legends and type as third issue. Stops, annulets.  
Cab. de Fr.

A specimen of this type occurred in the Montagu Collection (Part IV. lot 326).

Poey d'Avant, quoting Duby, describes a leopard with the legend "Edovardus d. g. rex. anglie. dux aquitae" (No. 2849). I should doubt very much the accuracy of this reading, without further corroboration, especially as Duby is most unreliable. The title "Dux" instead of "Dominus" is quite inexplicable.

## 3. With English, Aquitaine, and Irish titles.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARDVS · D · G · REX · ANGLIÆ · DNS  
ACITANIÆ · Z · hB. Stops, quatrefoils. Type  
as third issue, but eleven arches in tressure,  
and quatrefoils at the angles and in the  
spandrils.

*Rev.*—✠ XP·α · VINQIT · XP·α · REGNAT · XP·α ·  
IMPERRAT. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as third  
issue.

Wt. 56 grs. [Pl. XIX. 7.]

My Collection.

In the *Supplement* to Ainslie a variety is described, from the Cuff Collection, reading AGLÆ and hVB (Pl. i. 11), and a specimen of this type, with twelve arches in the tressure instead of eleven, occurred in the Collection of an Astronomer sold at Sotheby's in June, 1906, where it is illustrated in Pl. i. 66.

Guiennois.

*First Issue, 1360.*

Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARDVS : DEI : GRA : REX : ANGLIA : DN : S :  
 REITANIA. Stops, quatrefoils. Full-length figure of the King, crowned, facing, in full armour beneath a Gothic portico ; head turned to r., sword in r. hand, and shield bearing the arms of France and England quarterly in l. A leopard couchant guardant at either side of his feet. The portico is formed of a trefoil-shaped arch with open quatrefoils in the spandrils and two pinnacles on either side.

*Rev.*—✠ ELIA : IN EXCELQIS : DEO : ET IN . TRA :  
 PAX : HOMINIBVS. Stops, quatrefoils ; legend begins at bottom of coin. Trefoiled cross similar to that on the leopards of the third issue, within a similar quatrefoil compartment, with open quatrefoils in the spandrils. Fleur-de-lys in the 1st and 4th angles ; leopard passant guardant in the 2nd and 3rd angles. B in centre, within a quatrefoil compartment.

Wt. 59.2 gra. [PL. XIX. 8.]

My Collection.

This type is excessively rare. The coin described came from the Lake Price and Moon Collections, and I know of only one other specimen of this type, namely, the specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which differs from mine in having the leopard in the first and fourth angles, and the fleur-de-lys in the second and third angles on the reverse. The reverse legend, too, ends HOMIBVS.

The type is an extremely interesting one, as it forms a connecting link between the leopard and the common type of guiennois. It has all the essentials of the guiennois—the new obverse type, the Aquitaine title, the fleur-de-lys quartered with the leopard, and the

U 2

"peace" motto; but in all other respects, the spelling of the King's name in full, the mode of contraction of the titles, the form of cross and general design on the reverse, it is a close copy of the leopard, while the common guiennois differs from the leopard in all these respects.

I think it may be a pattern only. An edict may have been issued for the new money necessitated by the Treaty of Brétigny, specifying the main points to be observed in designing the new coins, and leaving the details to the designers; and it may be that one designer produced this coin, having, it is true, the essentials of the new coinage, but otherwise slavishly following the existing types, while another, with more ingenuity, produced an entirely new design, which was accepted for the new coinage.

The first appearance of the mint-letter is worthy of note. The reverse legend ("Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men") is, of course, from St. Luke ii. 14, and fitly commemorates the peace between the two nations.

### *Second Issue.*

#### 1. Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—ED' D GRA REX AGLIE DO AETARNIE. Full-length figure of the King in full armour, to r., beneath a Gothic portico, holding sword and shield as before. He is wearing a small crown over his helmet. Under his feet are two leopards couchant guardant, one to l., the other to r. The arch of the portico is flatter than before, and is formed of a tressure of five arcs, with two pinnacles at either side. The legend is divided by the four pinnacles, the top and bases of the portico, and the two leopards.

*Rev.*—Legend and type as last, but the B in the centre is placed thus :  $\alpha$ .

Wt. 59.6 grs. [Pl. XX. 1.]

British Museum.

This coin is rather rare. A specimen was included in the Montagu Sale Catalogue (Pt. IV. lot 323), and Poey d'Avant describes one in the B. Fillon Collection. It will be noticed that the obverse type and legends correspond with the common type of the guiennois, with the exception of the word  $\mathcal{R}EITANNIA$  and the form of the  $\mathcal{R}$ 's, while the reverse exactly resembles the guiennois of the first issue.

2. Rochelle.

*Obv.*— $\mathcal{R}D DI GRH REX ANGLIA DO \mathcal{R}EITANNIA$ . Type as last.

*Rev.*—Same legends and type as last. R in centre.

Poey d'Avant, 2804, from the A. de Lavergnée Collection.

I have not seen this coin, and Poey d'Avant unfortunately neither illustrates it nor gives a detailed description of the reverse type, but from the style of the obverse legend it would appear to belong to this issue. It is possible that he has misread the letter in the centre of the cross on the reverse, and that it should be a B.

*Third Issue.*

Fontenay (?).

*Obv.*— $\mathcal{R}D' D\mathcal{E}I \bullet GRH \mathcal{R}EX ANGLIA DNS \mathcal{R}EIVITANNIA$ . R. King in armour to r., crowned, beneath a Gothic portico, holding sword and shield, as last issue.

*Rev.*—† GLIſ : IN : EXCELAIſ : DEO : ET : IN :  
TERRA : PAſ : HOIBV. Cross fleury, within  
a tressure of twelve arcs. Fleur-de-lys in  
1st and 4th angles, leopard passant guardant  
in 2nd and 3rd angles, placed square with  
the cross instead of towards the centre. A  
quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre.

Wt. 59·2 grs. [Pl. XX. 2.]

British Museum.

This is another intermediate type. The general type is similar to that of the common guiennois, except in the number of arcs in the tressure on the reverse, and the legends and stops are also similar, except for the DAI GRA and the DNS RQVITNIA on the obverse, and for the form of R on the reverse, which resembles that on the guiennois of the first issue.

The R at the end of the obverse legend has given rise to some discussion. Some have thought that it stands for "Francie," and that it alludes to the renewed claim of Edward to the throne of France, which would mean that it was struck during the period from 1372 to 1377. Others maintain that it is the initial letter of some mint, and Figeac and Fontenay have been suggested. Poey d'Avant, in discussing the mints of the Black Prince, tells us that there is a document, dated 1378, which mentions a house called "La Monnaie," situate near the castle at Fontenay, and that, if that designation does not simply refer to a money-changer's house, there must have been a mint there before Charles VII established his. That would have been between 1361 and 1372, when the town was taken by Du Guesclin. Poey d'Avant adds that this period would tally exactly with numismatic facts, as "The only Prince who has employed the letter F is the



Black Prince, who governed Aquitaine from 1355 to 1372."

Poey d'Avant is wrong in stating that the Black Prince was "the only Prince who has employed the letter F," as this coin and a sterling described below prove; but we may accept his reasoning, as, although the Black Prince governed Aquitaine from 1355, he was not granted the right of coining money until 1362.

I am inclined, therefore, to assign this coin to Fontenay, and to the year 1361, on the faith of Poey d'Avant's reasoning coupled with the marked connection with the guiennois of the first and second issues, which seems to me to be a very strong reason against assigning the coin to the period between 1372 and 1377.

*Fourth Issue. Type 1.*

1. Poitiers.

*Obv.*— $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}$  D  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{X}$   $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{O}$   $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}$  :  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$ . King in armour to r., crowned, beneath a Gothic portico, holding sword and shield, &c., as before. P between pinnacles on r.

*Rev.*— $\mathfrak{I}$   $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$  :  $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$  :  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$  :  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{O}$  :  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}$  :  $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$  :  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$  :  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}$  •  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}$ . Cross fleury, within a tressure of sixteen arches. Fleur-de-lys in 1st and 4th angles, leopard passant guardant in 2nd and 3rd angles, as on guiennois of third issue. Quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre of cross.

Wt. 58.3 grs. [Pl. XX. 3.]

British Museum.

This is the commonest type of the guiennois, and occurs with the mint-letters of Poitiers, Limoges, and Rochelle. The obverse type resembles the guiennois of the second and third issues, but the common form of  $\pi$  is adopted, and also the contraction  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}$ , usually divided by

two annulets enclosing pellets. The reverse type resembles that of the third issue, but has a tressure of sixteen arches instead of twelve, and the ordinary  $\kappa$  and the open  $\epsilon$ .

2. Limoges.

*Obv.*—ED D GRA REX AGELIE DO KQVITKIE. No stops.  
Type as last. L between pinnacles on r.

*Rev.*—✠ GLA : IN : EXELCIS : DEO : ET : IN : TERRA :  
PAX • HOIBVS. Type as last.

Wt. 59.6 grs.

British Museum.

Mr. Carlyon Britton has a specimen with the stops in KQVITKIE on the obverse, and reading ✠ GLIA, &c., on the reverse.

3. Rochelle.

*Obv.*—ED D GRA REX AGELIE DO KQVITKIE. No stops.  
Type as last. R between pinnacles on r.

*Rev.*—✠ GLIA : IN : EXELCIS : DEO : ET : IN :  
TERRA : PAX • HOIBVS. Type as last.

Wt. 59.9 grs.

British Museum.

A specimen of this coin is illustrated in the Montagu Sale Catalogue (Part IV. Pl. v. 321). The British Museum possesses a second specimen, which has been described as a variety, with a dagger in the fourth quarter of the reverse. I have carefully examined this coin, and it seems to me that the so-called dagger is only a flaw in the striking, the "hilt" of the dagger being formed by the bottom part of the fleur-de-lys.

*Fourth Issue. Type 2.*

1. Rochelle.

*Obv.*—ED D GRA REX AGELIE DO KQVI : TKIE. Type  
as before, but R between King's legs instead  
of between the pinnacles.

*Rev.*—✠ GLIΛ : IN : EXELCIS : DEO : ET : IN :  
TERRΛ : PAX • HOIBVS. Type as before.

Wt. 58·8 grs. [Pl. XX. 4.]

British Museum.

There is a specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, exactly corresponding with the one described. A variety in the Murdoch Sale Catalogue (Pl. xi. 375) is without the stops in ΠQVITΛIE and has the reverse legend—

✠ GLIΛ : IN : αX : αΛCIS : DEO : IN : TARRΛ : PAX : HOIBVS.

## 2. Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—ED D ΓRΛ REX ΛGE DO ΠQVTΛE. Type as last.  
B between the King's legs. }

*Rev.*—✠ GLIΛ IN EXCELCIS, &c. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (2814), from the B. Fillon Collection.

I have not seen this coin, and cannot therefore vouch for the accuracy of the description. If it is correctly described, we have a new mint for the coins of this issue, and also a new form of abbreviation in ΠQVTΛE. But Poey d'Avant is unfortunately not always perfectly accurate, and describes coins not seen by himself, and I think that it is possible that this coin is only a mistaken attribution of the Rochelle coin of this type.

## Fourth Issue. Type 3.

No mint-name.

*Obv.*—ED D ΓRΛ REX ΛGLIΛ DO ΠQVI : TPIΛ. Type as before, but the figure of the King is very stout, and the portrait much older.

*Rev.*—✠ GLIΛ : IN : EX : CELCIS : DEO : Z : IN TERA :  
PAX : HOIBVS. Type as before, but only twelve arches in tressure.

Wt. 59 grs. Ainslie Collection (Pl. ii. 14).

A specimen of this coin was included in the Murdoch Sale Catalogue (lot 376). It differs from that described in omitting the stops in "Aquitaine" and after "Pax," and has æ all through the legends. As this type has only twelve arches in the tressure, like the guiennois of the third issue, it ought, perhaps, to come at the beginning of the fourth issue.

### SILVER COINS.

We now pass on to the silver coins, which I will describe according to their denominations, as already explained, dividing them only into the two classes of those struck before the Treaty of Brétigny, and those subsequent to the treaty.

#### SILVER COINS STRUCK BEFORE 1360.

##### Lion gros.

##### 1. No mint-name.

*Obv.*—EDO | VXR | DVS | REX | . + BNDICTVS : SIT :  
NOMÆ : DNI : NRI : DEI. In two concentric circles. Cross pattée dividing inner legend. Beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX · ACITANIE. Stop, trefoil. Leopard rampant to l., no inner circle. The whole enclosed in an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 47·5 grs. British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. viii. 249.

##### 2. Agen.

*Obv.*—EDO | VXR | DOS | REX | . + BNDICTVS : SIT :  
NOMÆ : DNI : NRI : DI. in two concentric circles. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ MONETA · ACEN. Stop, quatrefoil. Type as last.

Piedfort. Wt. 307·7 grs. [Pl. XX. 5.]  
Cab. de Fr.

An ordinary specimen of this coin, in the Bessières Collection, is described in the *Supplement* to Ainslie (Pl. i. 6).

### 3. Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—EDO | VXR | DOS | REX. ✠ BNDICTV : SIT :  
NOMÆ : DNI : NRI : DEI. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ MONETA · BVRD'. Stop, trefoil. Type as last.

Wt. 40·2 grs.

British Museum and Cab. de Fr.

The following varieties occur:—

#### Var. a.

*Obv.*—Inner legend, ED | OVX | RDO | S RE | X. Outer legend and type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ ·MONETA BVRD'. No stop. Type as last.

Wt. 47·4 grs. [Pl. XX. 6.]

My Collection.

#### Var. b.

*Obv.*—Inner legend as type. Outer legend ends DEI  
lhv.

*Rev.*—As type.

Wt. 32·2 grs.

Walters Collection.

#### Var. c.

*Obv.*—Inner legend, EDO | VXR | DVS | REX | . Outer legend as type.

*Rev.*—✠ MONETA · BVRD. Stop, fleur-de-lys.

Cab. de Fr.

Poey d'Avant describes a piedfort of this variety (No. 2817) in the Rousseau Collection, weighing 365·6 grains.

## 4. Rochelle.

*Obv.*—EDO | VNR | DVS | REX | . + BN̄DICTV . . . .  
 NOME : DN̄I . . . DEI. Type as before.

*Rev.*—✠ MONETA RVPELLE. Type as before.  
 Wt. 46·4 grs. [Pl. XX. 7.] Cab. de Fr.

M. Caron describes a piedfort of this coin (No. 246) in the Rousseau Collection, weighing 364·5 grs.

## 5. No mint-name.

*Obv.*—ED' REX ANGLIE. ✠ . . . : SIT : NOME : DN̄I,  
 &c. Type as before, cross dividing inner legend.


*Rev.*—✠ DVX . ACITANIE. Stop, slipped trefoil. Type as before, but only ten arches in the border.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2852), from the Puiferrat Collection.

I have not seen this coin, but it would appear to belong to the latest issue of this type. It more closely resembles the remainder of Edward III's coins in bearing the usual obverse legend "Ed. rex Anglie," and also in the general style of lettering.

## Gros tournois.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : ANGLIE. ✠ BN̄DICTV : SIT :  
 NOME : DN̄I : NRI : D in two concentric circles. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ACITANIE. A building formed of two embattled towers with spire between. Three pellets below spire. Below the building, a gateway (?) formed thus: . No inner circle. The whole surrounded by an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 55·8 grs. [Pl. XX. 8.]  
 My Collection.

This is the usual type of the gros tournois, copied direct from the gros tournois of the French regal series, originally introduced by Louis IX. The following varieties are described either from coins seen by me or from descriptions in Poey d' Avant :—

**Var. a.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π\*ΝΘΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ, &c. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠΘΙΥΠΝΙΕ. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (2857), from the Rousseau Collection.

**Var. b.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π\*ΝΘΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ, &c. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : Π\*ΘΙΥΠΝΙΕ. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (2856), from the Plantet Collection.

**Var. c.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π\*ΝΘΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ, &c. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠΘΙΥΠ\*ΝΙΕ. Type as last.

Wt. 51·9 grs. British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. ix. 281.

**Var. d.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : ΠΝΘΛ+ΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ, &c. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠΘΙΥΠΝΙΕ. Type as last, but trefoil in the gateway.

Wt. 36·7 grs. British Museum.

**Var. e.**

*Obv.*—As type No. 1.

*Rev.*—As type No. 1, but annulet at either side of gateway.

Poey d'Avant (2859), from the Rousseau Collection.

## 2. Legend ending "Ihu Xpi."

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π\*ΝΓΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙCΤΥ : ΣΙΥ :  
 ΝΟΜΕ : ΔΝΙ : ΝΡΙ : ΔΕΙ : ΙΗΥ : ΧΠΙ. Type as  
 last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠCΙΥΛ\*ΝΙΕ. Type as last.

Wt. 37·4 grs. [Pl. XXI. 1.]

My Collection.

General Ainslie describes a piedfort of this coin (Pl. iii. 22), weighing 168 grains, and in my copy of his work there is a manuscript note against it "Thomas £6 lost." There is, however, a piedfort in the British Museum, weighing 158·9 grains, of exactly the same type as General Ainslie's coin. Is it possible that this is the lost coin?

## 3. With ground plan (?) below building.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX ΠΝΓΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙCΤΥ : ΣΙΤ : ΝΟΜΕ :  
 ΔΝΙ : ΝΡΙ : ΔΕ. Type as before.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠCΙΥΛΝΙΕ. Building as before, but instead of the gateway below, a ground plan (?) formed of a straight line with an annulet at either end.

Piedfort. Wt. 204·3 grs. [Pl. XXI. 2.]  
 British Museum.

Var. α—

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX Π\*ΝΓΛ\*ΝΙΕ. Second legend illegible. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠCΙΥΛ\*ΝΙΕ. Type as before.

Wt. 34·8 grs. British Museum.

## 4. Long cross and annulet-topped towers.

*Obv.*—ED' : REX | ΠΝΓ | ΛΙΕ | . ΒΝΔΙC | ΤΥ : ΣΙΤ · |  
 ΝΟΜΕ Δ | ΝΙ · ΝΡΙ Δ | . Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin. Beaded inner circle.



*Rev.*—✠ DVX : Π·CITYANNIE. Building with annulet-topped towers. Spire between, with three pellets below. Ground plan (?) beneath building. No inner circle. The whole within a tressure of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 38 grs. [Pl. XXI. 3.]

British Museum.

*Var. a.*

*Obv.*—ED' : | REX | ΠNG | LIE | . BNDICT | TV : SIT : |  
NOME : D | NI : NRI : D | . Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΠCITYANNIE. Type as last.

Wt. 45·5 grs.

British Museum.

*Var. b.*

*Obv.*—ED' : | REX | ΠNG | LIE | . BNDICT | V : SIT N |  
OME : DN | I : . . . Type as last.

*Rev.*—DVX : ΠCITYANNIE. Type as last.

Wt. 43·2 grs.

My Collection.

*Var. c.*

Plume after second Π of "Aquitanie."

Caron (Pl. x. 17), from the Lalanne Collection.

5. Pattern with "Turonus Regem" on the reverse.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWAR · DVS · REX. ✠ BNDICTV : SIT :  
NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XP. Cross  
pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ TVRONVS · REGEM. Building with annulet-topped towers, three pellets below spire. Ground plan beneath. The whole surrounded by a tressure of twelve arches, enclosing fleurs-de-lys.

Wt. 50·3 grs.

Published by Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiii. 19),  
from the Guillemot Collection. (See *Revue  
num. fr.*, 1843, Pl. xv. 3.)

There is a piedfort of this coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, weighing 281 grains.

Poey d'Avant, in commenting on this coin, says that M. de Barthélemy has drawn attention to the similarity between it and a coin of Ferry, Duke of Lorraine, with the legend "Turonus ducis," but he cannot explain the word "Regem" in the place of "Regis," and thinks it may be an error on the part of the engraver.

Gros tournois with leopard passant.

1. *Obv.*—✠AD' : REX : ANGL+IE. Cross pattée after L. Second legend illegible. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—DVX : ACITAN+IE. Trefoil between A and N of "Aquitanie." Building, with annulet-topped towers, three annulets below spire. Leopard passant guardant to l. above; ground plan (?) below. The whole within a tressure of arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 26·3 grs. [Pl. XXI. 4.]

My Collection.

2. Legend ending "Ihu Xpi."

*Obv.*—✠AD' : REX : ANGLIE. ✠BNDICTV : SIT : NOMA  
DNI NRI DEI IHV XPI. Stops, quatrefoils.  
Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—DVX : ACITANIE. Stops, quatrefoils, pellet between C and I of "Aquitanie." Building with annulet-topped towers, crown between, spire above crown. Leopard passant guardant to l. above. The whole surrounded by a tressure of ten arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 28·1 grs. [Pl. XXI. 5.]

British Museum.

3. Embattled towers. Leopard passant below.

*Obv.*—✠AD' : REX : ANGL+IE. Cross pattée after L  
✠BNDICTV, &c. Cross pattée, with fleur-de-llys in 1st angle.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX ꝛ ΓΙΤΑΝΕ. Building, with embattled towers, spire between with three pellets below; beneath, leopard passant guardant to l., dividing legend. The whole surrounded by a tressure of arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 41·5 grs. [Pl. XXI. 6.]

Cab. de Fr.

Poey d'Avant also describes a specimen (No. 2893) in the Rousseau Collection.

Gros à la couronne.

*Obv.*—✠ ΕΔ' ꝛ REX | ꝛ ΑΝΓΛΙΕ · — ✠ · ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ ꝛ  
SIT ꝛ η | ΟΜΕ ꝛ ΔΝΙ ꝛ ΝΡΙ ꝛ Δ · Cross calvary within beaded inner circle, lower limb extending to edge of coin.

*Rev.*—✠ Δ·VX ꝛ ΑΓΙΥΑΝΙΕ. Crown in centre. No inner circle. The whole surrounded by an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 48·5 grs. [Pl. XXI. 7.]

My Collection.

Var. a.

*Obv.*—✠ ΕΔ' ꝛ REX | ꝛ ΑΝΓΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ, &c. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ ΔV·X ꝛ ΑΓΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as last, annulet above crown.

Wt. 35·9 grs.

British Museum.

Var. b.

*Obv.*—As last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX ꝛ ΑΓΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as last.

Wt. 55·4 grs. Caron (Pl. x. 18), from the Lalanne Collection.

Var. c.

*Obv.*—✠ ΕΔ' ꝛ REX | ΑΝΓΛΙΕ. ✠ ΒΝΔΙΩΤΥ, &c. Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX ꝛ ΑΓΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as last. Cab. de Fr.

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X

**Gros. Leopard couchant type.****1. With short cross on obverse.**

*Obv.*—✠ED REX · ANGLIEI. Stop, trefoil. ✠BND . . .  
NRI D. Small cross pattée, within beaded  
inner circle.

*Rev.*—DVX · ACITANIE. Stops, trefoils. Leopard  
crowned, couchant guardant, to l. No inner  
circle. The whole within an ornamental  
border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 34·4 grs. [Pl. XXI. 8.]

My Collection.

Poey d'Avant describes a specimen (Pl. lxii. 17) in the  
Testas Collection, weighing 30·5 grains.

**2. With long cross on obverse.**

*Obv.*—ED' | REX | ANS | L\*IE | . ✠BNDICTV, &c. Long  
cross pattée extending to edge of coin, three  
pellets in each angle, beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠DVX : ACITANIE. Key between n and l of  
"Aquitania." Leopard crowned, passant guar-  
dant, to l., within beaded inner circle. The  
whole enclosed in an ornamental border of  
arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 41·7 grs. [Pl. XXI. 9.]

British Museum.

There is a piedfort of this coin in the British Museum,  
very much worn, which weighs 252·3 grains.

**Lion demi-gros.****1. Rochelle.**

*Obv.*—✠EDO . . . EX. Short cross pattée within beaded  
inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ . . . NETX · RV . . . Stop, trefoil; leopard  
rampant to l. No inner circle.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxii. 11), from the  
Ledoux Collection.

I have not seen this coin, the description of which I have taken from the letterpress and illustration of Poey d'Avant, who is unfortunately not always reliable. It will be noticed that it differs from the lion gros in having no outer legend and a short cross pattée in the place of the long cross on the obverse, and no outer tressure on the reverse.

2. No mint-name.

*Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΕΧ ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. Type as gros.

*Rev.*—✠DVX\*ΑΘΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as gros.

Caron (Pl. x. 19), from the Lalanne Collection.

This coin corresponds with the lion gros No. 5. I have not seen it, and do not know its weight. It is possible that it is a clipped gros.

Demi-gros tournois.

1. *Obv.*—✠ED : RIX (*sic*) : ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. Second legend illegible. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠DVX : ΑΘΙΥΑΝΙΕ. Building, with annulet-topped towers, spire between, with three pellets below; ground plan beneath. The whole within an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 17 grs. [Pl. XXI. 10.]

British Museum.

Compare the gros tournois type 4, which, however, has a long cross on the obverse.

2. With Irish title.

*Obv.*—✠ED' : REX ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. ✠ΒΝΔΙΟΥ : ΣΙΥ : ΝΟΜΑ : ΔΝΙ : ΝΡΙ. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

x 2

*Rev.*—✠ DNS : HIBERNIE. Building with embattled towers; spire between, with three pellets and gateway below; beneath, three pellets arranged thus ∴ No inner circle. The whole surrounded by a tressure of nine arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 27·8 grs. [Pl. XXI. 11.]

My Collection.

A specimen in the British Museum weighs 18·7 grains, and other specimens I have noted 26·5 grains and 25·7 grains. The following varieties occur :—

*Var. a.*

Obverse outer legend reads ✠ BNDICTV and NRI :

Wt. 22·9 grs.

British Museum.

*Var. b.*

Obverse outer legend commencing ✠ BN : DICTV :

Wt. 21·4 grs.

Walters Collection.

*Var. c.*

No pellets below building on reverse.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxi. 17), from the B. Fillon Collection.

*Var. d.*

Towers on reverse surmounted by caps.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxi. 18), from the Feuardent Collection. (See *Revue Num. fr.*, 1858, Pl. xx. 9.)

Demi-gros tournois with leopard passant.

1. With leopard above.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : ANGLIE. ✠ BNDICTV : SIT :  
NOME : DNI : NRI D. Cross pattée, within  
beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—DVX ACITANIE ∘. Building with embattled towers, spire between with three pellets and gateway below, surmounted by leopard passant guardant to l. All within a tressure of ten arches, enclosing trefoils, except the top arch, which contains a rosette.

Wt. 37·6 grs. [Pl. XXI. 12.]

British Museum.

## 2. With leopard below.

1. *Obv.*—✠ED' : REX : ANΘHIE. ✠BNΔICTV : SIT :  
 NOME : DN I . . . Cross pattée, within  
 beaded inner circle; fleur-de-lys springing  
 from inner circle in 2nd and 3rd angles.

*Rev.*—✠DVX : ACIYANIE. Building with annulet,  
 topped towers, fleur-de-lys between. Leopard  
 passant guardant to l. below.

Wt. 38·5 grs. [Pl. XXII. 1.]

British Museum.

## Demi-gros, leopard type.

## 1. Heavy issue.

*Obv.*—✠AD' : REX : ANGL+IE. ✠BN . . . SIT : NOME  
 DN I : NR I : D. Cross pattée, within beaded  
 inner circle; small trefoil in 2nd angle.

*Rev.*—✠DVX : ACIYANIE. Leopard passant guardant  
 to l., surmounted by large crown. No inner  
 circle. The whole surrounded by a tressure  
 of arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 33 grs.

British Museum.

## Var. a.

Rosette below leopard on reverse.

Wt. 34 grs. Poey d'Avant (2867), from the  
 B. Fillon Collection.

Poey d'Avant also describes a piedfort (No. 2868)  
 weighing 189 grains, in the Testas Collection.

## 2. Light issue.

*Obv.*—✠ED' : REX : ANGL+IE. ✠BNΔICTV : SIT :  
 NOME : DN I : NR I : D. Cross pattée, within  
 beaded inner circle; fleur-de-lys in 2nd angle.

*Rev.*—✠DVX : ACITANIE. Leopard passant guardant  
 to l., surmounted by a large crown. The  
 whole within a tressure of ten arches, enclos-  
 ing trefoils.

Piedfort. Wt. 121·2 grs. [Pl. XXII. 2.]

British Museum.

**Var. a.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π·NGL·IE. ✠ BNDICTV : SIT :  
NOME : DNI : NRI : D. Type as before.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΛCITANIE. Type as before.

Wt. 18 grs.

British Museum.

**Var. b.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π·NGL·IE. Quatrefoil after Π,  
and cross pattée after L. Outer legend and  
type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΛCITANIE. Quatrefoil after second I  
of "Aquitane." Type as last.

Cab. de Fr., 1459<sup>4</sup>.

**Var. c.**

*Obv.*—Legends and type as last, but no special marks  
in "Anglie."

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΛCITANIE. Trefoil after n of "Aqui-  
tanie." Type as last.

Cab. de Fr., 1465.

**Var. d.**

*Obv.*—As last.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΛCITANIE. Type as last.

Cab. de Fr.

**3. Cross pattée below leopard on reverse.**

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : Π·NGL·IE. Quatrefoil after Π,  
cross pattée after L of "Anglie." ✠ BNDICTV :  
SIY : NOME : DNI : NRI : D. Cross pattée,  
within beaded inner circle. Fleur-de-lys in  
2nd angle.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΛCITANIE. Leopard passant guardant  
to l., surmounted by a large crown. Small  
cross pattée below.

Wt. 25·9 grs. [Pl. XXII. 3.]

British Museum.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties:—

No. 2869. Pellet below leopard. Wt. 17·8 grs.

Poey d'Avant Collection.



- No. 2871. Star below leopard. Rousseau Collection.  
 No. 2872. Cross below leopard. Rousseau Collection.  
 No. 2873. Large cross below leopard. Rousseau Collection.  
 No. 2875. Crescent below leopard. Poey d'Avant Collection.

4. Leopard alone on reverse.

*Obv.*—... | REX | ANΘ | ... ✠ ... : NOME : ... Cross pattée dividing inner legend only.

*Rev.*—... ΛΕΙΥΑΝΙΕ. Leopard passant guardant to l., straight line below.

Wt. 22·8 grs. [Pl. XXII. 4.]

British Museum.

This coin is unfortunately only a fragment, but the type is perfectly clear, and, as will be seen, it is of quite a distinct type from the preceding demi-gros.

Sterling.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARD' REX ° ANGL'. Crowned bust, three quarters to l., within beaded inner circle; leopard passant guardant to l. on breast, dividing legend.

*Rev.*—DVX | ΛQV | ITΛ | ΝΙΘ | . Long cross extending to edge of coin; open crown in each angle.

Wt. 21·4 grs. [Pl. XXII. 5.]

British Museum.

The following varieties occur:—

Var. a.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARD' x REX ANGL x. Type as before.

*Rev.*—DVX | ΛQV | ITΛ | ΝΙΘ ° | . Type as before.

Wt. 20·1 grs.

British Museum.

Var. b.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARD' REX ANGL. Type as before.

*Rev.*—DVX | ΛQV | ITΛ | ΝΙΘ | . Type as before.

Wt. 21·9 grs.

My Collection.

## Var. c.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARD' REX ANGL'. Type as before.

*Rev.*—DVX | KQV | ITA | NIE : |.

Cab. de Fr., 1468.

## Demi-sterling.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARD' \* REX ANGL'. Type as last.

*Rev.*—DVX | KQV | ITA | NIE. Type as last.

Wt. 8·6 grs. [Pl. XXII. 6.]

British Museum.

Another specimen in the British Museum weighs 10·1 grains.

## Denier, Guessin.

*Obv.*—✠ ° ED' ° REX ° ANGLIE ° Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ ° DVX ° KQIT ° ANIE ° Leopard passant guardant to l., 6 below.

Piedfort. Wt. 76·5 grs. [Pl. XXII. 7.]

British Museum.

M. Caron describes another piedfort (No. 248) in the Gariel Collection, and Poey d'Avant describes an ordinary specimen (No. 2778) in the Testas Collection, with trefoil stops in the legends and a trefoil above the leopard on the reverse.

I have described this denier first, as it seems to belong to the earliest issue of this reign. It resembles closely the deniers of Edward I's reign, and differs from the other deniers of this reign in having Roman E's throughout the legends.

## Obole, Guessin.

*Obv.*—✠ ° ED' ° REX ° ANGLIE. Type as denier.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX KQITANIE. Type as denier; 6 below leopard.

Wt. 6·2 grs. [Pl. XXII. 8.]

My Collection.

Poey d'Avant describes two specimens of this coin, one (No. 2779) in the De Puiferrat Collection, and another (Pl. lxiii. 12, No. 2799) in the Testas Collection. Also a piedfort (Pl. lxiii. 11, No. 2798) in the Rousseau Collection which weighs 78 grains.

Denier, Bordeaux.

Type 1.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : ANGLIE. Leopard passant guardant to l., on a straight line; M B below. The whole within a beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : PCITANNIE. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; crown in 1st angle.

Wt. 13.5 grs. Ainslie (Pl. vi. 69).

Poey d'Avant describes a specimen (Pl. lxii. 14, No. 2818) in the Testas Collection.

Obole, Bordeaux.

Type 1.

*Obv.*—✠ ED REX : ANGLIE. Type as denier.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : PCITANNIE. Type as denier.

Wt. 5.5 grs. [Pl. XXII. 9.]

British Museum.

Denier, Bordeaux.

Type 2.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : ANGLIE. Type as type 1.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : PCITANNIE. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; crown in 2nd quarter.

Wt. 13.2 grs. [Pl. XXII. 10.]

My Collection.

Obole, Bordeaux.

Type 2.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX : ANGLIE. Type as denier.

*Rev.*—✠ DVX : PCITANNIE. Type as denier.

Wt. 7 grs. [Pl. XXII. 11.]

My Collection.

## Denier, Bordeaux.

Type 2, var. *a*.*Obv.*—Legends and type as type 2.*Rev.*—✠ DVX : Π . . . BVRD. Type as type 2.

Wt. 11·5 grs. Ainslie (Pl. iv. 31).

I describe this coin on the authority of General Ainslie, but I have never come across a specimen. If the reverse legend is correctly deciphered, it forms an interesting link between the deniers of Edward I and Edward III.

## Obole, Bordeaux.

## Type 3.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' : REX ANGLIE. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.*Rev.*—✠ ◦ DVX ΚΕΙΤΑΝΙΕ ◦. Leopard passant guardant to l. on a straight line; M B below. The whole within a beaded inner circle.

Ainslie (Pl. vii. 94).

This coin is also described on the authority of General Ainslie.

## Obole, Bordeaux.

## Type 4.

*Obv.*—ED' ◦ DVX ΚΕΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as obole, type 2.*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΚΕΙΥΑΝΙΕ. Type as obole, type 2.

Wt. 8·6 grs. [Pl. XXII. 12.]

My Collection.

## Obole, without mint-name.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' ◦ REX ANGLIE. Leopard passant guardant to l., rosette below, within beaded inner circle.*Rev.*—✠ DVX : ΚΕΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; crown in 1st angle.

Wt. 5·5 grs. [Pl. XXII. 13.]

My Collection.

I ought to mention here a denier described by Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiii. 13, No. 2900) on the authority of Duby. He calls it a denier tournois, and it is of the ordinary tournois type, with the usual legends and the cross cutting the legends on the obverse; on the reverse, a building with annulet-topped towers and ground plan below. It is stated to weigh 16·1 grains. I think it is probably a clipped demi-gros.

Double tournois.

*First Issue.*

Type 1.

*Obv.*—EDVVNR . . . (Edwardus Rex). Crown in centre.

*Rev.*— . . Π | DVPLEX (Moneta Duplex). Cross calvary, limbs ending in trefoils, lower limb dividing legend.

Wt. 22·6 grs. [Pl. XXII. 14.]

British Museum.

Another specimen in the British Museum weighs 19·1 grains, and one in the Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2884) weighs 25·5 grains.

The obverse of this coin is copied from a coin of Charles IV of France (1322–1328), and the reverse from one of Philip VI (1328–1350), a type continued by John.

Type 2.

*Obv.*—EDVARDVS . ANGLIE. Large crown in centre, with REX on it.

*Rev.*—MONETA DVPLEX. Type as last.

Wt. 20·3 grs. Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiii. 3, No. 2885), from the B. Fillon Collection.

## Type 3.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARDVS : ANGLIE. REX surmounted by crown.

*Rev.*—.. ONETA DVPLA... Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle. Open quatrefoil in centre.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiv. 7, No. 2917), from the Feuardent Collection. (See *Revue num. fr.*, 1858, Pl. xx. 7.)

## Type 4.

*Obv.*—DVX . AGIT . . . Type as last.

*Rev.*—Legend illegible. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiv. 8, No. 2918). (See *Revue num. fr.*, 1858, Pl. xx. 8.)

*Second Issue.*

## Type 1.

*Obv.*—✠ ED REX : ANGLIE. Leopard passant guardant to l., surmounted by crown, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ MONETA : DVPLEX. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle. Crown in 1st and 4th angles.

Wt. 18·2 grs. [Pl. XXII. 15.]

My Collection.

Notice the change of spelling in the King's name.  
The following varieties occur :—

## Var. a.

Type and legends as last. Rosette below leopard.

Wt. 14·7 grs.

British Museum.

## Var. b.

Type and legends as last, but no stops in reverse legends. Rosette below leopard.

Wt. 17·7 grs.

British Museum.

Also a piedfort weighing 60 grains.

## Var. c.

Trefoil below leopard on obverse ; pellet below crowns on reverse. No stops on obverse.

Wt. 16·3 grs.

Walters Collection.

## Type 2.

*Obv.*—✠ED : DVX : ΚΘΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as last, pellet below leopard.

*Rev.*—✠ΜΟΝΕΤΑ : DVPLEX. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant, 2919. From the Colson Collection.

## Type 3.

*Obv.*—✠ED' ΡΑΧ ΑΝΘΛΙΩ. Leopard passant guardant to l. between two straight lines. Α above ; Θ below.

*Rev.*—✠ΜΟΝΑΤΑ DVPLCΣ. Cross couronnée, within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 15·3 grs. [Pl. XXII. 16.]

British Museum.

Another specimen weighs 16 grains.

## Type 3. Poitiers.

Legends and type as last. P at end of reverse legend.

Wt. 20·3 grs. Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2810).

## Type 3. Agen.

Legends and type as last. Α at end of reverse legend.

Wt. 20·3 grs. Poey d'Avant (No. 2796), from the Testas and B. Fillon Collections.

Poey d'Avant quotes a variety (No. 2887) which omits the ΚΘΙ on the obverse, and illustrates it on Pl. lxiii. 5. He states that it is described on the authority of the *Supplement* to Ainslie, but I cannot find any such coin described there.

## MUNICIPAL COINS.

## Bordeaux.

Pattern double gros.

*Obv.*—✠ ED' X REX X ANGLIE X FRX. Crown, with five annulets in bandeau. Below MXY · D' — M. ME ("Mater Dei, memento mei") in two lines; trefoil after D and E. The whole surrounded by an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing fleurs-de-lys.

*Rev.*—BVR | QIVI | SAR | GNTI | . BNDIA | TV X SI | Y X  
 NOM | E X DNI X | . Long cross avellannée extending to edge of coin. Fleur-de-lys pointing inwards in 1st and 4th angles.

Wt. 574·8 grs. [Pl. XXII. 17.]

British Museum.

## Double.

*Obv.*—✠ CIVIT . . . DEGALE. Half-length figure of King, crowned, to l., between two crowns, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—ED | . . . | NG | LIE | . Cross pattée extending to edge of coin. Three pellets in 1st and 4th angles, crown in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 37·5 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 1.]

British Museum.

This coin, which came from the Ainslie Collection, is I believe, unique.

## Denier.

*Obv.*—✠ CIVITA . . . RDEGALE. Crowned bearded head facing, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—ED' | RE' | ANG | LIE. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin. Three pellets in 1st and 4th angles, fleur-de-lys in 2nd angle, and crown in 3rd angle.

Wt. 22·5 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 2.]

British Museum.

This coin is also from the Ainslie Collection, and, I believe, is unique.



## Bergerac.

## Denier.

*Obv.*—✠ DVX ΛΓΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Crowned bearded head facing, as on last.

*Rev.*—CIVI | TΛS | . . . | CIE |. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin. Three pellets in 1st and 4th angles. Crown in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Published by Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxii. 21, No. 2831), from the De Gourgues Collection. (See *Revue num. fr.*, 1841, Pl. xi. 7.)

It will be seen that the town-name is very indistinct. Poey d'Avant reads it as "Bragie;" but I think it is quite possible that it ought to be read "Aenqis," in which case it would be the same as the coin next described.

## D'Ax.

## Denier.

*Obv.*—✠ DVX ΛΓΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as last.

*Rev.*—CIVI | TΛS | ΛΕΝ | QIS |. Type as last.

Published by Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiii. 1, No. 2800), from the De Gourgues Collection. (See *Revue num. fr.*, 1841, Pl. xi. 7.)

Poey d'Avant also describes another specimen (No. 2801) in the Galy Collection, with two pellets and an annulet, instead of three pellets in the 1st and 4th angles of the cross on the reverse.

## SILVER COINS STRUCK AFTER 1360.

## Gros.

*Obv.*—✠ ΕΔ Δ Γ ΡΕΧ ΑΓΛΙΕ ΔΟ ΑΟΥΙΤΑΙΕ. Half-length figure of the King to r., crowned, holding sword in r. hand, and l. hand raised, within tressure of nine arches.

*Rev.*—ΩΛΑ | ΙΝΑ | ΧΩΑ | ΛΩΙΣ |. ✠ ΔΕΟ Α | Τ ΙΝ ΤΑ R | ΡΛ ΡΛΧ | ΗΘΙΒVS in two concentric circles. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin, three pellets in each angle.

Wt. 71.1 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 3.] Cab. de Fr.

M. Caron describes a second specimen in the Mayes Collection, which weighs 62·5 grains. These are the only two specimens of this coin which I know.

**Demi-gros.**

*Obv.*—✠EDVVARD'·D&I GRΛ·R&X ΛN&L. Half-length figure of the King, crowned, to r., holding sword, as on the gros.

*Rev.*—DNS | ΛQV | ITΛ | NIE. GLΛ·IN & | XLS·DO | ET·IN·T: | RΛ·PΛX. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin, three pellets in each angle.

Wt. 34·5 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 4.]

British Museum.

Poey d'Avant describes four specimens from his own collection: one (No. 2911) as the type, weighing 30·5 grains; a second (No. 2909), with the obverse legend ending Λ&L&, weighing 26·4 grains; a third (No. 2912), with two annulets as stops, weighing 30·5 grains; and the fourth (No. 2913), with the obverse legend ending ΛN&L&, weighing 28 grains.

Mr. Hawkins, in his account of the Anglo-Gallic coins in the British Museum, describes another variety (Pl. i. 4), which is in reality a double hardit of Henry IV, under whose reign I shall describe it.

**Sterling.**

1. With no mint-name.

*Obv.*—✠EDVVART REX ΛN&LIE |. Half-length figure of the King, crowned, to r., with sword and uplifted hand, as on demi-gros.

*Rev.*—DNS | ΛQV | ITΛ | NIE. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin. Three pellets in each angle.

Wt. 17·5 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 5.]

British Museum.

Var. *a*.

Triangle between *n* and *l* of "Aquitanie."

Wt. 18.25 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

Var. *b*.

*Obv.*—EDWLR · D · GR · REX · LG · Type as last.

*Rev.*—Legends and type as No. 1.

Poey d'Avant (2916), from the Bonsergent Collection.

2. Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—EDWLR · D · GR · REX · LG · Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—DNS | LG | TLR | LG · B | . Type as No. 1.

Wt. 15.7 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 6.]

British Museum.

Var. *a*.

*Obv.*—ED REX LG · Long bust, dividing legend above and below.

*Rev.*—DNS | LG | TLR | LG · B | . Type as No. 1.

Published by M. Caron (No. 258).

3. Rochelle.

*Obv.*—EDWLR · D · GR · REX LG · Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—DNS | LG | TLR | LG · R | . Type as No. 1.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiii. 17, No. 2807), from his own Collection.

Poey d'Avant also describes a sterling of Rochelle (No. 2808), reading on the obverse, "Edwdus Rex Anglie," with annulet stops, and R below the bust of the King, and states that the coin is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; but as I could not find it there when I visited the Bibliothèque in 1904, I think he may have misread the coin next described, which I did find in Paris, and which is not described by Poey d'Avant.

## 4. Fontenay.

*Obv.*—✠ΑΔΥΑΡΔΥΣ • ΡΕΧ • ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. Type as No. 1.  
F in field to l. of bust.

*Rev.*—ΔΝΣ | ΑΙΩ | ΤΑΝ | ΙΕ. Type as No. 1.

Wt. 15·6 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 7.]

Cab. de Fr.

I assign this coin to the mint of Fontenay for the same reasons that I have assigned the guiennois bearing the letter F to that mint.

## Lion denier.

*First Issue. Leopard to right.*

## 1. Without mint-letter.

*Obv.*—✠ΑΔ : ΡΡΧ ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. Leopard couchant guardant to r., within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠ΔΝΣ · ΑΘΙΥΑΝΙΕ. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 13·7 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 8.]

British Museum.

## 2. Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—✠ΑΔ : ΡΕΧ ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. Type as No. 1. B in field below leopard.

*Rev.*—✠ΔΝΣ · ΑΩΥΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as No. 1.

Wt. 14·3 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 9.]

British Museum.

## 3. Poitiers.

*Obv.*—✠ΕΔ' ΡΕΧ · ΑΝΘΛΙΕ. Type as No. 1. P below leopard.

*Rev.*—✠ΔΝΣ · ΑΩΥΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Type as No. 1.

Wt. 14·8 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 10.]

My Collection.

Poey d'Avant describes a specimen (No. 2811) of this type, but weighing 28·5 grains. This is possibly a double denier. M. Lecointre Dupont describes a variety in his *Monnaies de Poitou*, reading ΑΟΙΤΑΝΙΕ on the reverse.

## 4. Limoges.

*Obv.*—✠ED : RPX : ANGLIE. Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—✠DVS ANITANIE L. Type as No. 1.

Wt. 12 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 11.]

My Collection.

So far as I can discover, this coin, with the mint-letter at the end of the reverse legend instead of in the field on the obverse, has not hitherto been published.

*Second Issue. Leopard to left.*

## 1. Bordeaux.

*Obv.*—✠ED' : REX : ANGLIE. Leopard passant to l., within beaded inner circle. B below.

*Rev.*—✠DVS : ANITANIE. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 14·4 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 12.]

British Museum.

M. Caron describes a piedfort of this coin (No. 247) in the Lalanne Collection, weighing 95·3 grains.

## 2. Agen.

*Obv.*—✠ED' REX : ANGLIE. Type as No. 1. A below leopard.

*Rev.*—✠DVS : ANITANIE. Type as No. 1.

Published by Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxii. 18, No. 2797), from the Testas Collection. In the text the stops are shown as saltires, but in the plate they are annulets.

## 3. Poitiers.

*Obv.*—✠ED : REX : ANGLIE. Type as No. 1. P below leopard.

*Rev.*—✠DVS ANITANIE P. Type as No. 1.

Published by M. Lecointre Dupont (p. 134).

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## PONTIEU.

Our description of the coins of this reign closes with the coins of Ponthieu, consisting of a denier and an obole.

## Denier.

*Obv.*—✠ EDOARDVS REX. Broad cross pattée, within beaded inner circle. Annulet in 1st and 4th angles.

*Rev.*—MOHETA POHTI in two lines across field, separated by a plain line, plain line above and below. Cross pattée, between annulets above and below.

Wt. 12·8 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 13.]

My Collection.

## Var.

As type, but annulets in 2nd and 3rd angles of cross on obverse, instead of 1st and 4th.

## Obole.

Same legends and type as denier.

Wt. 11·5 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 14.] My Collection.

These coins are both rare, the obole especially so.

## HENRY OF LANCASTER.

We now come to the municipal coins of Bergerac, struck in the name and by the authority of Henry of Lancaster.

In 1344 Henry, then Earl of Derby, commanded the English forces in the campaign in Guienne. He landed at Bayonne, and in the following year he took Bergerac, and overran Périgord and the Agenais. On the death of his father, in the same year, he became Earl of Lancaster.

In recognition of his services, Edward granted to him and his heirs male, on June 1, 1347, the town of Bergerac, and conferred on him the privilege of

striking money therein, "for his own convenience and emolument."

In 1352 Henry was created Duke of Lancaster; in 1361 he died of the plague.

His coins, struck in accordance with Edward's grant, divide themselves into two periods—the first from 1347 to 1352, on which he styles himself "Comes Lancastriae;" and the second from 1352 to 1361, which bear the title "Dux Lancastriae."

It may be as well here to complete the history of the town of Bergerac at this period. On the death of Henry, in 1361, without heirs male, it reverted to the Crown, and in the following year it passed, as parcel of Aquitaine, to the Black Prince. In 1370 the Black Prince granted the town to John of Gaunt, Henry's son-in-law, and successor in the Duchy of Lancaster, with the same powers and privileges as Henry had held from Edward III. The Black Prince surrendered Aquitaine to Edward III in 1372, but Edward renewed the grant to John of Gaunt, and on Edward's death, in 1377, Richard II confirmed it.

In 1390 Richard revived the Duchy of Aquitaine, and created John of Gaunt Duke of Aquitaine, giving him the right to strike money for the Duchy. In 1377 Bergerac was taken by the French after a great siege by Du Guesclin, and from that date it was constantly taken and retaken. In 1381 it was in the hands of the French, and John of Gaunt made certain charges on its revenues, conditional on its recovery. In 1395 it was in the possession of John of Gaunt, for in that year he received the French envoys there.<sup>6</sup>

I have already discussed the possibility of attributing

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<sup>6</sup> I must again acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Armitage Smith's *John of Gaunt* for these facts and dates.

the denier of Bergerac, described above, to John of Gaunt. If the reading is correct, the coin can hardly have been struck by Henry of Lancaster, as all his coins bear his own name. It cannot have been struck by John of Gaunt under his grant from the Black Prince, as it bears the legend "Dux Aquitanie," and the Black Prince's title was "Princeps Aquitanie." Again, it cannot have been struck under Edward III's grant, as that was subsequent to the Treaty of Brétigny, and he styled himself invariably "Dominus Aquitanie" at that period; but it may have been struck by John of Gaunt in 1395, as this would be subsequent to the date when he had been created Duke of Aquitaine by Richard II (1390).

I now pass on to a description of the coins of Henry of Lancaster.

#### AS EARL OF LANCASTER. 1347-1352.

The coins struck during this period consist of a gros and demi-gros, either of the tournois type or copied from other contemporary French coins. There are many varieties of type, and it is impossible to say what is the sequence of issue. Unfortunately, I shall have to describe many of the coins merely from descriptions in Poey d'Avant and elsewhere, as I have had no opportunity of inspecting original examples, and as in many cases no weights are given, it is almost impossible to say definitely whether a coin ought to be described as a gros or as a demi-gros.

Gros tournois.

1. With embattled towers.

*Obv.*—✠ hæn : COMES LANCC. Second legend illegible, except for the word : NRI. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.



*Rev.*—✠ DNS : BRAGAIRAQI. Building with embattled towers, spire between, with three pellets underneath; ground plan below. The whole contained in a tressure of arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 42 grs. [Pl. XXIII 15.]

British Museum.

I have a specimen of this coin, very much chipped, with annulet stops on both sides, the obverse legend ending LANQ, and the reverse IRAQ. It weighs 16 grains.

2. With annulet-topped towers.

*Obv.*—HEN | COM | ES L | NCE | . BRDICTV | SIT  
NOM | 'AN DNI NRI | DAI IhV XPI | . Long  
cross pattée extending to edge of coin.

*Rev.*—✠ DNS : BRAGAIRACII. Building with annulet-topped towers, spire between, ground plan below. The whole within an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Ainslie, *Supp.*, Pl. ii. 21, from the De Gourgues Collection.

Var.

*Obv.*—HEN | COM | LA\* | NCE | . BRADICT | SIT : N |  
OMQ : D | NI Ih XPI | Type as last.

*Rev.*—✠ DNS BRAGAIRQ. Type as last.

Wt. 39 grs. Caron (Pl. ix. 23), from the Lalanne Collection.

Poey d'Avant describes a piedfort of this type (Pl. lviii. 1), which was found at Châtaigneraye (Vendée), and passed into the collections of M. B. Fillon and M. de Mourcin, at Périgueux. It is described in *Revue num. fr.*, 1841, Pl. xi. 5.

Gros tournois, with leopard added.

1. With spire between towers.

*Obv.*—✠  $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{R COM LANCAST.}$  ✠  $\text{BNDICTV} : \text{SIY} : \text{NOME} : \text{DNI} : \text{NRI} : \text{DE.}$  Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— $\text{DNS BR\AA GER\AA\iota.}$  Building with annulet-topped towers, spire surmounted by a cross between; three annulets underneath; ground plan below. The whole surmounted by a leopard passant guardant to l., dividing legend, and within an ornamental border of ten arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 33.4 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 16.]

My Collection.

The British Museum possesses an example of this coin, weighing 33.4 grains.

Var.

*Obv.*—Legends and type as last. Quatrefoil after L of "Lancast."

*Rev.*— $\text{DNS BR\AA GER\AA\iota.}$  Quatrefoil at beginning of legend. Type as last, but the spire is surmounted by an annulet.

Wt. 20.3 grs.

British Museum.

Poey d'Avant describes a second variety (No. 2696), in the Testas Collection, reading  $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{ COM LAN}\alpha$  on the obverse, and  $\text{DNS BR\AA G\AA\iota\AA\iota}$  on the reverse.

2. With crown between the towers.

*Obv.*—✠  $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{ COM LAN.}$ — $\text{BNDICTV, \&c.}$  Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— $\text{DNS BR\AA G\AA\iota\AA\iota\AA\iota.}$  Building with crown between towers; leopard above.

Poey d'Avant, No. 2693. See *Revue num.* fr., 1841, p. 195, No. 5. Stated to be in the Ainslie Collection, but I can find no description of it either in Ainslie or in the *Supplement*.

Poey d'Avant also describes a variety (No. 2694) with the legends  $\epsilon\eta\ \text{COM}\ \text{L}\Lambda$  and  $\text{D}\text{NS}\ \text{BR}\Lambda\Theta\text{K}\text{I}\text{R}\Lambda$  (*Revue num. fr.*, 1841, p. 195, No. 6), which he also states is in the Ainslie Collection. I have also been unable to trace this coin.

**Gros à la couronne.**

*Obv.*—✠  $\eta\epsilon\alpha\eta\ :\ \alpha\text{OM}\epsilon\text{S}\ \text{L}\Lambda\eta\alpha$ .—...  $\text{NOME}\ \text{DNI}\ \text{NRI}$  ...  
Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠  $\text{D}\text{NS} :\ \text{BR}\Lambda\Theta\text{K}\text{I}\text{R}\Lambda\alpha\text{I}$ . Crown in centre; no inner circle. The whole surrounded by a tressure of arches enclosing trefoils.

Piedfort. Ainslie, *Supp.*, ii. 18, from the Norblier Collection.

Poey d'Avant describes another piedfort (Pl. lvii. 18), in the Morel Fatio Collection. This type is an imitation of the gros blanc à la couronne of John.

**Demi-gros à la couronne.**

*Obv.*—✠  $\eta\epsilon\alpha\eta\ \alpha\text{OM}\epsilon\text{S}\ \text{L}\Lambda$ . Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— $\text{D}\text{NS} :\ \text{BR}\Lambda\Theta\text{K}\text{I}\text{R}\Lambda$ . Crown in centre, ♀ below; annulet to l. of crown; the whole within an ornamental border.

Ainslie, *Supp.*, Pl. ii. 19, from the Cab. de Fr.

**Gros à la fleur-de-lys.**

*Obv.*—✠  $\eta\epsilon\alpha\eta\ :\ \alpha\text{OM}\epsilon\text{S}\ \text{L}\Lambda\eta\alpha$ . Second legend illegible.  
Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—✠  $\text{D}\text{NS} :\ \text{BR}\Lambda\Theta$ ... Fleur-de-lys, within inner circle.

Wt. 31·4 grs.

Cab. de Fr.

Unfortunately, this coin is in too poor a state of preservation to admit of illustration. A drawing of it can

be seen in the *Supplement* to Ainslie (Pl. ii. 20). The type is copied from the gros à la fleur-de-lys of Philip VI.

AS DUKE OF LANCASTER. 1352-1361.

Demi-gros tournois.

*Obv.*—✠. αη : DNS : BRΛΓII . ε . . . . . nome . dni . . . .  
Stops, pellets. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— . DVX ΛΠΝΑΠΙΔ. Castle with annulet-topped towers, crown between. Leopard passant guardant to l. above, ground plan below. The whole within ornamental border.

Wt. 29·8 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 17.]

British Museum.

Poey d'Avant describes another specimen (No. 2695), in the Testas Collection.

Poey d'Avant also describes a variety of this type, (Pl. Iviii. 2), the obverse legends on which he states are ✠ αη x DNS HIB ΛΓΛΙ . ε . and CIT NOMEN DOMINI ΒΑΝΑΔΙΩΤΥΜ. A reference to the illustration shows the inner legend to be ✠ . αη x DNSIBRΛΓΛΙ . ε . which must be merely a blundered reading of the type. It is easy to see how the legend might be misread. The coin is in the Jouannet Collection. (See *Revue num. fr.*, 1841, Pl. xi. 6.)

Demi-gros.

1. Leopard couchant type.

*Obv.*—✠ . εη : DNS . | BRΛΓIIΕ . ✠ BND . . . SIT nome : D . . . . Cross calvary, lower limb dividing inner legend.

*Rev.*—ΛΠΝΑΠΙ—IE : DVX in two lines below a leopard couchant guardant to l; the whole within an ornamental border.

Wt. 27 grs. [Pl. XXIII. 18.]

British Museum.

Poey d'Avant describes two specimens (Nos. 2688 and 2689, Pl. lvii. 20, and *Revue num. fr.*, 1841, Pl. xi. 3) in the De Gourgues and Roux Collections.

2. Leopard passant type.

Legends and type as last, but leopard passant guardant to l., instead of couchant.

Wt. 19·8 grs. Poey d'Avant (Pl. lvii. 21), from his own and M. Jouannet's Collections. (See *Revue num. fr.*, 1841, Pl. xi. 4.)

Sterling.

1. *Obv.*—✠ h : DVX : ΛΑΝΘΑΣΤ. Bearded head facing, within inner circle.

*Rev.*—DNS ∴ | ΒΡΛ | ΘΛΙ | ΡΛΑ |. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin; three pellets in 1st and 4th angles; crown in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 15·6 grs. Poey d'Avant (Pl. lviii. 7), from the Perot and De Mourcin Collections.

2. Legends and type as No. 1, but three pellets in 1st angle only on reverse, and crowns in the other three angles: annulet below crown in the 4th angle.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lviii. 8), from the De Mourcin Collection.

3. Legends and type as No. 1, but crown in all angles on reverse.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lviii. 9), from the De Mourcin Collection.

LIONEL M. HEWLETT.

(*To be continued.*)

## MISCELLANEA.



### AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF CARAVSIUS.

On behalf of Mr. Jethro A. Cossins I have the pleasure of describing two brass or copper coins of Carausius, each remarkable in its way.

The one presents an ordinary obverse type, and the common reverse of PAX AVG, with Peace standing to left and holding a vertical *hasta*. The peculiarity of this coin is its excessive weight, no less than 133 grains troy, which, as Mr. Cossins points out, is about the same as that of the second brass coins of Volusianus, Gallienus, and others of about the same period.

The other coin may be thus described—

*Obv.*—IMP . C . CARAVSIVS P . F . AVG. Radiate and draped bust r.

*Rev.*—PROV - - AVG Helmeted male figure, holding in his l. a vertical spear or sceptre, his r. extended over a trophy, at the foot of which are two seated captives, their hands tied behind them, and back to back. In the field SC.

Æ 80½ grains.

The reverse legend may, I think, be safely restored as PROVID or PROVIDEN . AVG; but such a type as this in connection with PROVIDENTIA seems absolutely novel; nor, so far as I am aware, does the type occur with any other legend on coins of Carausius or any other emperor. Of course the trophy and captives are known on coins of Carausius in connection with the VICTORIA GERMANICA, a legend and type borrowed from some earlier emperor. I must content myself with thanking Mr. Cossins for having called the attention of the Society to his coins.

J. E.

### XIII.

#### ROMAN SILVER COINS FROM GROVELY WOOD, WILTS.

THE small hoard of silver coins described in the following notes<sup>1</sup> was contained in an earthenware pot (Fig. 4, p. 347), which was found on July 25, 1906, by Samuel William Doughty, while digging for stones in Grovely Wood. In the same pot were the silver ornaments described below, with a piece of glass and two bronze coins.

At the same time and place was found another pot (Fig. 3, p. 345), containing some 1000 bronze coins of the fourth century; these, however, are in too bad condition to repay the trouble of cleaning.

The spot is situated in an old earthwork, which forms part of a very extensive set of works, running round the north side of Grovely Wood and overlooking the valley of the River Wylfe.

The silver hoard originally consisted of 300 coins, but one (said to be of the larger denomination) was unfortunately lost by the finder. The remaining 299 consist of 296 siliquae and 3 miliarensia. The miliarensia are of Valens (1 of Trier) and Gratian (1

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<sup>1</sup> The information as to the circumstances of this discovery has been supplied by Lord Pembroke's agent, Mr. G. R. Kendle, who made careful notes and (with Mr. G. H. Engleheart and Major Hawley) a preliminary classification of the hoard, and has in other ways much facilitated the preservation and publication of the coins.

of Trier, 1 of Siscia), and are all of the type called C below (VIRTVS EXERCITVS). The siliquæ are of Constantius II (3), Julian Caesar (1), Julian Augustus (20), Jovian (1), Valentinian I (7), Valens (63), Gratian (53), Valentinian II (33), Theodosius (37), Magnus Maximus (60), Flavius Victor (7), Eugenius (7), Arcadius (4). Of the mints represented, Trier was the source of an enormous majority of the coins (212 out of 299), as is usually and naturally the case in hoards found in these islands. The analysis appended (pp. 332, 333) gives information as to the distribution of the coins amongst Emperors, types, and mints, and further details may be found in the list given below. The obverse types in the list are distinguished as follows :—

*Constantius II* (337–361 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., diademed. DNCONSTANTIVSPFAVG.

*Julianus Caesar* (355–360 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., bareheaded. DNIVLIANVSNBCAES.

*Julianus Augustus* (360–363 A.D.)—

β. Bust r., diademed. FLCLIVLIANVSPPAVG.

γ. „ „ DNCLIVLIANVSAVG.

δ. „ „ DNIVLIANVSPFAVG.

ε. „ „ bearded. DNFLCLIVLIANVSPFAVG.

*Jovianus* (363–364 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., diademed. DNIOVIANVSPFAVG.

*Valentinianus I* (364–375 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., diademed. DNVALENTINIANVSPFAVG.

*Valens* (364–378 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., diademed. DNVALENSPFAVG.

*Gratianus* (367–383 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., diademed. DNGRATIANVSPFAVG.

β. „ „ DNGRATIANVSAVG.

*Valentinianus II* (375–392 A.D.)—

a. Bust r., diademed. DNVALENTINIANVSIIVNPPFAVG.

a bis. „ „ DNVALENTINIANVSIIVNPPFAVG.

β. „ „ DNVALENTINIANVSPFAVG.



- Theodosius* (379–395 A.D.)—  
a. Bust r., diademed. DNTHEODOSIVSPFAVG.  
*Magnus Maximus* (383–388 A.D.)—  
a. Bust r., diademed. DN MAGMAXIMVSPFAVG.  
*Flavius Victor* (383–388 A.D.)—  
a. Bust r., diademed. DNFLVICTORPFAVG.  
*Eugenius* (392–394 A.D.)—  
a. Bust r., diademed. DNEVGENIVSPFAVG.  
*Arcadius* (383–408 A.D.)—  
a. Bust r., diademed. DNARCADIVSPFAVG.

The reverse types I have classified as follows, in more or less chronological order :—

- A.—VOTIS | XXX | MVLTIS | XXXX in wreath.  
B.—VOTIS | V | MVLTIS | X  
B<sup>a</sup>.—VOT | V | MVLT | X  
B<sup>β</sup>.—VOT | V | MVL | X } in wreath.  
B<sup>2</sup>.—VOT | X | MVLT | XX in wreath (on Julian's coins the medallion attached to the wreath bears an eagle).  
B<sup>3</sup>.—VOT | XV | MVLT | XX in wreath (on the coins of Valens the medallion attached to the wreath bears a star).  
B<sup>4</sup>.—VOT | X | MVLTIS | XV in wreath.  
C.—VIRTVS EXERCITVS The Emperor standing, holding standard and shield.  
D.—VRBS ROMA Roma seated l., holding Victory in r., resting with l. on spear.  
E.—VICTORIA AVGGG Victory l., with wreath and palm.  
E<sup>2</sup>.—VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM Similar.  
F.—CONCORDIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated to front, r. foot on prow, holding cornucopiae and sceptre.  
G.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Roma seated to front, holding globe and spear.  
H.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear.

## GROVELY WOOD


Types.	CONSTANTINUS II AVG	IVLIANVS CAESAR	IVLIANVS AVG		IOVIANVS AVG	VALENTINIANVS I AVG			VALENS AVG					GRATIANVS AVG				
	A	B	B	B <sup>2</sup>	B	B	D		B	B <sup>2</sup>	B <sup>3</sup>	C	D	B <sup>2</sup>	B <sup>3</sup>	C	D	G
TREVIRI . . .			2				3					1	52		1	35	11	
LVGDVNVM . .	2		10														1	1
ARELATE . . .	1	1	5	3														
MEDIOLANVM .																		
ROMA . . . .						3	1	5					1				3	
AQVILEIA . . .													3					
SISCIA . . . .										1					1	1		
THESSALONICA																		
CONSTANTINOPOLIS . . .					1													
ANTIOCHIA . .									1					1				
TOTALS . .	3	1	17	3	1	3	4	5	1	1	1	1	56	1	1	2	39	13

## HOARD: ANALYSIS.

VALEN- TINIANVS II AVG					THEODOSIVS AVG					MAGNVS MAXIMVS AVG			FLAV. VICTOR AVG	EVGENIVS AVG		ARCADIVS AVG		TOTALS.		
B²	D	E	G	H	B²	D	B²	F	G	H	E²	F	G	G	D	H	B		D	
		3	6		6			1	6		20		1	56	3		5			212
		7	2				2									2			2	29
																				10
1						3							1		3			2		10
							2													15
		4		2					3			1		1	1					15
		1																		4
1																				1
																				1
																				2
2	15	8	2	6		3	4	1	6	3	20	1	1	58	7	2	5	2	2	299

## LIST OF THE COINS FROM GROVELY WOOD.

## AUGUSTA TREVIRORUM.

Emperor.	Obv.	Rev.	Mint-marks.	Weight in grains.	Weight in grammes.	No.	Total.
Julianus Augustus (360-363)	γ	B	TR 	33-29.2	2.138-1.89	2	
Valentinianus I (364-375)	α	D	TRPS	25.9	1.68	1	
" "	"	"	TRPS.	31-29.6	2.01-1.92	2	
Valens (364-378)	α	C	TRPS.	68.7	4.45	1	
" "	"	D	TRPS	35.2-25.7	2.28-1.66	7	
" "	"	"	TRPS or TRPS.	32.3-29.5	2.09-1.91	2	
" "	"	"	TRPS.	37.9-24.0	2.45-1.55	43	
Gratianus (367-383)	α	C	TRPS.	69.0	4.47	1	
" "	"	D	TRPS	36-33.5	2.33-2.17	4	
" "	"	"	TRPS.	36-23.3	2.33-1.51	31	
" "	"	G	TRPS	41-24.3	2.66-1.57	10	
" "	"	"	TRPS	28.9	1.87	1	
Valentinianus II (375-392)	α	D	TRPS	28.8-23.5	1.866-1.52	2	
" "	β	"	TRPS	31.0	2.01	1	
" "	α	E	TRPS	30.5-26.5	1.98-1.72	2	
" "	α bis	"	TRPS	35.0-22.8	2.27-1.48	4	
" "	β	H	TRPS	31.5-26.6	2.04-1.72	6	
Theodosius (379-395)	α	B <sup>4</sup>	TR	26.0	1.68	1	
" "	"	F	TRPS	33.0-25.2	2.14-1.63	6	
" "	"	H	TRPS	35.8-21.1	2.32-1.37	20	
Magnus Maximus (383-388)	α	F	TRPS	35.5	2.30	1	
" "	"	G	TRPS	36.6-18.0	2.37-1.17	56	
Flavius Victor (383-388)	α	G	TRPS	24.8-21.1	1.61-1.37	3	
Eugenius (392-394)	α	H	TRPS	29.3-25.4	1.90-1.64	5	
							212

## LUGDUNUM.

Brought forward 212

Emperor.	Obv.	Rev.	Mint-marks.	Weight in grains.	Weight in grammes.	No.	Total.
Constantius II (337-361)	$\alpha$	A	LVG	32.2-29.3	2.09-1.90	2	
Julianus II (360-363)	$\beta$	B	LVG	35.0-27.0	2.27-1.75	5	
" "	"	B <sup>a</sup>	LVG	30.5	1.98	1	
" "	"	B	PLVG	38.6-31.6	2.50-2.05	3	
" "	"	"	SLVG	28.6	1.85	1	
Gratianus (367-383)	$\alpha$	D	LVGPS	26.6	1.72	1	
" "	"	G	LVGPS	33.0	2.14	1	
Valentinianus II (375-392)	$\beta$	D	LVG.	30.3	1.96	1	
" "	"	"	LVGPS	30.2-25.5	1.96-1.65	4	
" "	"	"	LVGS	33.0-26.0	2.14-1.68	2	
" "	$\alpha$	E	LVGPS	29.8-23.0	1.93-1.49	2	
Theodosius (379-395)	$\alpha$	D	LVGPS	29.5-28.5	1.91-1.85	2	
Eugenius (392-394)	$\alpha$	D	LVGPS	31.2-30.2	2.02-1.96	2	
Arcadius (383-408)	$\alpha$	D	LVGPS	37.4-31.0	2.42-2.01	2	
							29

## ARELATE.

Constantius II (337-361)	$\alpha$	A	CON	28.2	1.83	1	
Julianus Caesar (355-360)	$\alpha$	B	TCON	26.9	1.74	1	
Julianus Augustus (360-363)	$\delta$	B	PCON	28.6	1.85	1	
" "	"	"	TCON	32.6-26.0	2.11-1.68	4	
" "	$\epsilon$	B <sup>2</sup>	PCONST	31.6	2.05	1	
" "	"	"	TCONST	28.8	1.87	1	
" "	"	"	CON	26.0	1.68	1	
							10
							251

## MEDIOLANUM.

Brought forward 251

Emperor.	Obv.	Rev.	Mint-marks.	Weight in grains.	Weight in grammes.	No.	Total.
Valentinianus II	$\beta$	B <sup>2</sup>	MDPS	20.6	1.33	1	
Theodosius . .	$\alpha$	B <sup>2</sup>	MDPS	28.0-16.0	1.81-1.04	3	
Magnus Maximus	$\alpha$	G	MDPS	22.6	1.46	1	
Flavius Victor .	$\alpha$	G	MDPS	25.2-22.8	1.63-1.48	3	
Arcadius . . .	$\alpha$	B <sup>a</sup>	MDPS	20.2-18.8	1.31-1.22	2	
							10

## ROMA.

Valentinianus I .	$\alpha$	B <sup>a</sup> (MV.LT)	RB	31.7	2.05	1	
" . . .	"	B <sup>a</sup> (1 with MV.LT)	RT	34.7-30.0	2.25-1.94	2	
" . . .	"	D	RP	30.6	1.98	1	
Valens . . . .	$\alpha$	B <sup>a</sup> (MV.LT)	RB	33.8-25.2	2.19-1.63	4	
" . . . .	"	B <sup>a</sup> (MV.LT)	RQ	32.0	2.07	1	
" . . . .	"	D	RQ	26.0	1.68	1	
Gratianus . . .	$\alpha$	D	R*P	28.0	1.81	1	
" . . . .	"	"	R*B	28.0	1.81	1	
" . . . .	"	"	R*Q	33.2	2.15	1	
Theodosius . .	$\alpha$	D	R*P	27.2	1.76	1	
" . . . .	"	"	R*Q	26.5	1.72	1	
							15

## AQUILEIA.

Valentinianus II .	$\alpha$	D	* AQPS.	36.4-30.4	2.36-1.97	4	
" . . . .	"	G	AQPS.	32.0-19.2	2.07-1.24	2	
Valens . . . .	$\alpha$	D	AQPS.	29.5	1.91	1	
" . . . .	"	D	* AQPS.	29.0-26.0	1.88-1.68	2	
Theodosius . .	$\alpha$	G	AQPS.	35.7-32.0	2.31-2.07	3	
Magnus Maximus.	$\alpha$	E <sup>2</sup>	AQPS.	22.7	1.47	1	
" . . . .	"	G	AQPS.	23.2	1.50	1	
Flavius Victor .	$\alpha$	G	AQPS.	24.0	1.55	1	
							15
							291

# ROMAN SILVER COINS FROM GROVELY WOOD, WILTS. 337

## SISCIA.

Brought forward 291

Emperor.	Obv.	Rev.	Mint-marks.	Weight in grains.	Weight in grammes.	No.	Total.
Valens . . . .	α	B <sup>2</sup>	SISCPS	31·5	2·04	1	
Gratianus . . . .	α	B <sup>2</sup>	SISCPS	26·8	1·74	1	
" . . . .	"	C	SISCP	68·5	4·44	1	
Valentinianus II .	β	D	SISCP <sup>2</sup>	28·6	1·85	1	
							4

## THESSALONICA.

Valentinianus II .	β	B <sup>2</sup>	TES	29·6	1·92	1	
							1

## CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

Jovianus . . . .	α	B <sup>2</sup>	CP·Γ	27·8	1·80	1	
							1

## ANTIOCHIA.

Valens . . . .	α	B <sup>2</sup>	ANT·.	33·0	2·14	1	
Gratianus . . . .	β	B <sup>2</sup>	·ANTB	27·8	1·80	1	2
							299

Hoard<sup>s</sup> of Roman silver coins of this period are not of common occurrence, and all that are known, with one or two possible exceptions, have been discovered in these islands. What is more, the British hoards<sup>2</sup> are especially

<sup>2</sup> The details which follow are largely drawn from Mr. Haverfield's account of the subject in the *Victoria County History of Somerset*, the advance sheets of which he has kindly allowed me to see. I also owe to him the reference to the Cleeve Prior find (*V.C.H., Worcester*, i. p. 217).

characteristic of the county of Somerset. Outside that county the hoards are distributed as follows: one in Worcestershire, one in Berks., two in Hants, the present one in Wilts., two in Norfolk, and one from Coleraine in Ireland.

The Somerset hoards will be found described by Mr. Haverfield, in the volume already mentioned (pp. 355 ff.). They come from (1) a spot on the Great Western Railway, between Bath and Bristol; (2) Uphill, near Weston; (3) a spot near Bristol or Mendip, not revealed; (4) East Harptree; (5) Wookey Hole; (6) the marshes near Edington and Chilton; (7) Holway, a suburb of Taunton; (8) North Curry, near Taunton; (9) Charlton Mackrel. They all seem to have been buried or lost towards the close of the fourth century. Occasionally, coins of an earlier date than Constantius II are present; but the majority of the coins are of Constantius II, Julian, and their successors down to Honorius and Arcadius. The Western mints, Trier, Lyon, and Arles, are represented in overwhelming preponderance; but practically all the mints of the Empire furnish stray coins to one or other of the hoards.

Outside the British Isles, the only instance pretending to the name of a hoard of silver coins of this period is involved in some mystery. Missong published, in 1868,<sup>3</sup> a list of 105 siliquae, supposed to be part of a hoard from some unknown place, probably in the region of the Lower Danube. He acquired them from a dealer, who declined to communicate further details. But as the Eastern mints, especially Constantinople,

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<sup>3</sup> A. Missong, *Fund römischer Siliquen aus den Jahren 360-367 n. Chr.* Geb., in the *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, 1868.



were strongly represented, we may assume that the coins came from the Lower Danube district, in various places in which the dealer plied his trade. The odd feature of this "hoard" is that it consists entirely of VOTIS coins.<sup>4</sup>

A small deposit was found in November, 1894, at Cazères-sur-l'Adour, in a pot containing two bracelets, two ear-rings, a ring, and a dozen silver coins of Valentinian I, Gratian, and Theodosius,<sup>5</sup> all with the legend VRBS ROMA and our type D.

What is the reason for the rarity of such hoards outside the British Isles, and for their comparative rarity outside the West of England? Mommsen<sup>6</sup> inferred that, after about 360 A.D., silver was hardly current in the Empire except in Britain. If this were the case, it is difficult to understand why all the mints, Eastern or Western, should be employed to strike silver coins, if they were not to be used except in Britain. And, as Missong points out, the siliquae published by him go some way to invalidate Mommsen's inference. Mr. Haverfield (p. 354) thinks that the distribution and dates of the hoards seem to point "to some special fortune or misfortune of Somerset about the beginning of the fifth century. Such might be either attacks of Irish pirates or, at a later date, the retreat of the Romanized Britons from Eastern Britain before the Saxons. But of the first we know so little that we can hardly use it safely, and the second appears to have come too late to explain

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<sup>4</sup> That is, of types similar to our A, B, B<sup>2</sup>, etc. Missong considers this to be merely due to chance, and not to a deliberate choice on the part of the person who deposited the hoard. It is true that other hoards show a tendency on the part of certain types to predominate.

<sup>5</sup> *Bulletin de Num.*, 1895, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Mommsen-Blacas, iii. p. 133.

coin-hoards in which many of the coins were certainly found in excellent preservation." Assuming the distribution of the hoards to be due to some special circumstance, that circumstance must also account for the special feature of these hoards—the metal. It is possible that a very sudden military disaster, such as the overwhelming of a whole district by raiders, might prevent the escape of the richer class of inhabitants, who would be more likely than the poor to escape in case of a less sudden misfortune. The question must for the present remain unsolved.

Of all the hoards mentioned above as more or less coinciding in date with the present one, only those of East Harptree,<sup>7</sup> Holway,<sup>8</sup> Coleraine,<sup>9</sup> and the one published by Missong (*op. cit.*) have been described with sufficient fulness to permit of detailed comparison with the coins from Grovely Wood.<sup>10</sup> The Grovely Wood coins of Constantius II, of type A, are represented at East Harptree by 280 specimens, at Coleraine by 14, at Holway by 13, and in Missong's hoard by 11. As the numbers of the years (xxx-xxxx) show, this issue belongs to the end of the Emperor's reign. The earlier silver of Julian Caesar (*rev.* star in wreath, without inscription) is comparatively rare, so that its absence at Grovely Wood counts for little. There was but one specimen at East Harptree, and none in the other hoards.

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<sup>7</sup> Sir J. Evans, in *Num. Chron.*, 1888, pp. 22-46.

<sup>8</sup> H. Christmas, in *Num. Chron.*, VII. (1844-45), *Proc.*, pp. 9 f. (the place is wrongly called "Holwel").

<sup>9</sup> J. Carruthers, *Num. Chron.*, XVII. (1855), pp. 111 f.

<sup>10</sup> It is to be hoped that Sir John Evans will soon find opportunity to publish the account of his coins from the spot near Bristol (No. 3 in the list of Somerset hoards above).

Of later types of Julian and other Emperors, which are not represented in the Grovely Wood hoard, although they might have been expected, the following are the most important:—

VOT. V or VOTIS V in wreath. As this type seems to have been issued at few, if any, mints outside Constantinople, its absence is explained.

RESTITVTOR REIP. The Emperor holding labarum and Victory. At East Harptree, of this type there were 103 coins of Valentinian I, and 66 of Valens, and the type was also represented at Coleraine. At Holway, there was a specimen of Julian with this type. I am quite unable to account for its absence at Grovely Wood, as it was issued from the Western mints.

The only types of Arcadius (who became Augustus in 383) represented are the early ones B and D, and there are no coins present of Honorius, who became Augustus in 393. On the other hand, the latest types of Theodosius (379–395 A.D.) seem to be represented (B, C, and E being the only types of this Emperor found in the other hoards and missing here). We may therefore conclude that the hoard was deposited, or that its owner ceased adding to it, in or soon after 395 A.D. This would leave time for him to acquire a certain number of the bronze coins of Honorius, which were apparently present in his other hoard.

It is disappointing to find that the hoard contained no pieces of Magnus Maximus with the mint-mark AVGPS or AVG.<sup>11</sup>

The only two known silver coins, with this form of the London mint-mark, come from the West of England

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<sup>11</sup> See De Salis and Evans in *Num. Chron.*, 1867, pp. 61 f., 329 f.

hoard mentioned above, and are, owing to the generosity of Sir John Evans, now in the National Collection.

*The Weights of the Siliquae.* Missong calculated the average weight of the 105 siliquae in his hoard (from Constantius II to Gratian) at 1.838 gramme (28.36 grains). The lightest coin in his hoard was a Valens of 1.38 gramme (21.30 grains); the heaviest, a Jovian of 2.27 grammes (35.03 grains). It will be seen that his average is nearly identical with the mean between the heaviest and lightest (1.825 gramme = 28.16 grains). The highest weight in the Grovely Wood hoard is 2.66 grammes (41 grains), the lowest 1.04 gramme (16 grains). The mean of these is 1.85 gramme (28.55 grains). The average weight is 1.909 gramme (29.46 grains), which is again close to the mean, though not so close as in the case of Missong's calculation. The general condition of the coins is so good, that loss of weight by wear in circulation may be neglected.

If we suppose that at this time coins were merely struck at so many to the pound, without much regard to their exact weight, the average weight ought also to be the normal. Babelon, however, maintains<sup>12</sup> that the normal is represented neither by the average nor by the mean, but by that weight which is attained by the greatest number of the coins. In other words, if one constructs a curve with the horizontals representing weights, let us say, of 1 grain troy, and the verticals the number of coins, the highest point of the curve will represent the normal weight. I have constructed such a curve for the coins of the mint of Trier in the Grovely Wood hoard, adding to them the coins of the same types

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<sup>12</sup> *Trailé*, i. 577, note 4.

of that mint in the National Collection. From the figures given below, any one can trace the curve who pleases.

Weight in grains.		No. of coins in British Museum + Grovely Hoard.
Not above	Nor below	
41	40·1	2
40	39·1	0
39	38·1	1
38	37·1	1
37	36·1	7
36	35·1	11
35	34·1	11
34	33·1	16
33	32·1	21
32	31·1	26
31	30·1	34
30	29·1	28
29	28·1	24
28	27·1	19
27	26·1	15
26	25·1	19
25	24·1	8
24	23·1	7
23	22·1	4
22	21·1	3
21	20·1	1
20	19·1	1
19	18·1	0
18	17·1	2
17	16·1	0

It will be seen that the summit of the curve (34 coins of not more than 31 grains or less than 30·1 grains) is very nearly at the same weight as the average (29·46 grains). If, therefore, the assumption made above as to the method of dividing up the metal is correct, it matters little whether we take as the normal the average, or mean, or the weight represented by the greatest number of coins: for they differ by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy at the most. Unfortunately for the theory, these weights are not a reasonable proportion of the Roman pound.

We may, however, settle our doubts by a different calculation. The larger coins in this hoard are of the denomination which is with most probability identified with the miliarensis of  $\frac{1}{7\frac{1}{2}}$  pound, or 4.55 grammes (70.22 grains) normal.<sup>13</sup> If it is true for this time that the miliarensis was equivalent to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  siliqua,<sup>14</sup> then the normal weight of the siliqua must have been 2.60 grammes (40.12 grains). This is the weight accepted by M. Babelon as normal. It by no means squares with what we may call his test of proportional representation. But it does more or less square with the rule that the highest weight is the normal, for it is rarely exceeded by actual specimens. We may, therefore, accept it as correct: a conclusion the more satisfactory, since it confirms the otherwise accredited rule of the highest weight, as against the other rules which we have tested and found wanting.

M. Babelon further distinguishes between the siliqua and the half-siliqua. The silver coins, he says, fall into two classes, the one ranging from 2.50 to 2.08 grammes, the other from 1.43 to 1.18 gramme. Other writers have also distinguished these "conventional quinarii" from the higher denomination. I confess that any one who expected to receive two of these so-called half-siliquae in exchange for one of the siliquae of slightly higher weight (the types and sizes of both "denominations" being, we must remember, indistinguishable) must often have been disappointed. In Missong's little collection of coins, the weights ranged from 2.27 to 1.38 grammes so gradually as to defy division into two groups. Similarly, the curve constructed, as described

<sup>13</sup> Babelon, *Traité*, i. 570.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 576.

above, for the coins of the mint of Trier, is quite gradual in its ascent or descent, but for a slight interruption



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.—Height, 6·35 inches.

between 28 and 25 grains (1·81 and 1·62 gramme); and this interruption is insufficient to justify the division of the coins into two denominations. It would seem, therefore, that the only denominations of silver coins in use at this time were the siliqua and milia-reuse and an exceptional denomination of  $\frac{1}{60}$  pound not represented in this hoard.<sup>15</sup>

As I have said above, there were found, in the same pot with the silver coins, two bronze

<sup>15</sup> Babelon, *ibid.*, p. 571.

coins and a number of rings. The bronze coins are (1) of Constantius Caesar, *rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, struck at Lugdunum, in the period 296–304 A.D.; (2) a coin of the fourth century, perhaps of Theodosius, with *rev.* SALVS [REIPVBLICE], P in field, mint-mark [T]R (cp. Cohen,<sup>2</sup> viii. Theodosius, No. 30). The occurrence of the former coin is strange, as no others of the large module characteristic of that period were contained in the pot with the hoard of bronze coins. The rings are of a class which has previously been associated with coins of the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. They are as follows:—

1. Silver ring, with flattened octagonal bezel formerly attached, set with design of clasped hands in brass (?); shoulders (angular) and hoop moulded and engraved. Maximum diameter, 0·95 inch. (See Fig. 1.)
2. Silver ring, bezel (which was circular) lost; shoulders (angular) and hoop moulded and engraved; the hoop, which is decorated to resemble a pair of animals' heads, has been cut and rejoined to make it smaller. Maximum diameter, 1·0 inch. (See Fig. 2.)
3. Silver ring, bezel (which was octagonal) lost; shoulders (rounded) and hoop lightly engraved. Maximum diameter, 0·9 inch.
4. Circular frame of silver bezel, from which setting has been lost; flange milled. Diameter, 0·9 inch.
5. Oval frame of silver bezel, setting destroyed, plain. Maximum diameter, 0·85 inch.
6. Flat silver ring, probably part of a bezel. Maximum diameter, 0·7 inch.

With these was also found a piece of transparent green glass, from the rim of an angular vessel. Length, 1·1 inch.

The rings 1 and 2 should be compared with those from



Sully (*Num. Chron.*, 1900, Pl. III. 9 and 10). No. 3, on the other hand, is of much poorer workmanship, and perhaps later than the others. The occurrence of these rings with coins ranging down to the end of the fourth century, shows that, although the type of ring may have originated in the third century (as is clear from the numismatic evidence of the Sully hoard), it was in use down to a later date.

G. F. HILL.



FIG. 4.—Height, 4·2 inches.

#### XIV.

### THE SILVER MEDAL OR MAP OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL REMARKS.

SINCE my notice of this medal appeared in the *Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Miller Christy has kindly called my attention to a passage in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*,<sup>2</sup> which throws a new light on the question as to who was the engraver of this map.

After discussing the subject of the new Straits, south of those of Magelane discovered by Drake, and mentioning the map of his voyage presented to Queen Elizabeth, and still hanging in Her Majesty's Gallery at White Hall, Purchas goes on to say, "*And my learned friend Master Briggs told me that he hath seene this plot of Drake's Voyage cut in silver by a Dutchman (Michael Mercator, Nephew<sup>3</sup> to Girardus) many yeeres before Scouten or Maire intended that Voyage.*"

There seems little doubt that "this plot cut in silver" must refer to the medal which is described at page 78. The difficulty is how to reconcile the statement as to Michael Mercator having cut it with the extreme probability of the silver map having been engraved by the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 77 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> 1625, folio, vol. iii. pp. 461, 462.

<sup>3</sup> Nephew = grandson.

same hand as that in the *De Orbe Novo* of Peter Martyr, which records F. G. as the engraver. The difficulty may, however, be overcome if we assume that Michael Mercator was the actual cartographer, and F. G. the initials of the actual engraver of the map.

With regard to Michael Mercator, but little is generally known, and I am indebted to Mr. B. H. Soulsby, of the Map Department in the British Museum, and to Mr. Henry N. Stevens, the well-known publisher of Great Russell Street, for the following information.

From a genealogical table given in Raemdonck's *Gérard Mercator, Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres*,<sup>4</sup> it appears that Michael Mercator was the third son of Arnold Mercator (1537-1587), who was the eldest son of Gerard Mercator (1519-1594) by his first wife, Barbe Schellekens. Michael Mercator is said to have been born at Duisburg, in Rhenish Prussia, and to have had two brothers, Jean and Gerard. He seems also to have been married, and to have had a son, Arnold. His mother was Elisabeth Monhemius.

Janus Gruterus<sup>5</sup> states that the father of Michael was Arnold, and Michael Mercator speaks of Gerard as his grandfather on his own map of America.

Mr. G. P. Winship, in his *Cabot Bibliography*,<sup>6</sup> speaks at some length about the map in the Queen's Gallery at Whitehall, and thinks that it vanished during the Commonwealth. What is of great interest is his remark that the Peter Martyr map was engraved by Francis Gaulte (or possibly Gualle), whose initials appear upon it. I am, however, unable to trace his authority for this

<sup>4</sup> E. Dalschaert-Prest St. Nicholas, 1869, 8vo.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscriptiones Antiquae, Totius Orbis Romani*.

<sup>6</sup> Stevens, 1900.

remark beyond a tradition that has come down to Mr. Stevens from his father to this effect.

Mr. Colvin, on inquiry, informs me that in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, there is no note or record concerning Francis Gaulle, or any specimen of his handiwork. At the same time, however, it seems probable that there must be some foundation for the tradition, attributing the Peter Martyr map to his skilful workmanship, and it can hardly be safe to discard the tradition as absolutely without foundation.

JOHN EVANS.

## XV.

### A NOTE ON THE FIRST ENGLISH COINAGE AT BOMBAY.

THE early history of the British Indian currency is a subject which invites the attention of some one who, with a competent knowledge of numismatics, has sufficient leisure to make an exhaustive examination of the contemporary records, particularly those of the East India Company now preserved in the India Office at Westminster. The present writer possesses neither qualification, and all that is here attempted is to render available some hitherto unpublished extracts from the India Office records, which throw light on the first distinctively English coinage in India, and incidentally correct the date usually accepted for that issue.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the island of Bombay was ceded to England by Portugal in 1661, as part of the very miscellaneous dowry of Charles II's consort, Catherine of Braganza; that, after many disputes and delays, it was actually handed over to the King's representative in February, 1665; and that in March, 1668, His Majesty, by letters patent, transferred it to the East India Company, whose servants took possession of it in the following September. The acquisition of this island gave the Company's factors on the West Coast what they had long desired—a settlement of their

own, which they could fortify and administer in their own fashion, free from the interference and extortion to which they were always liable in native territory; and although for twenty years longer Surat remained the head-quarters of the Western Presidency, yet all that time Bombay was being nursed into greatness as the future centre of English trade on that coast. From the first, careful schemes for its development were thought out both in India and in England; and one of the earliest of these was a plan for the establishment there of an English currency which, besides meeting local needs, would, it was hoped, gradually win its way into general use for purposes of trade in other parts of India.

The first intimation of such a plan is contained in a letter from the Company to their servants at Surat, dated February 22, 1671, in which they say—

“Wee doe thinck it convenient for us to have a coyne of our owne there [at Bombay]. Wee would have you therefore consider of such a coyne, soe as it bee not our Kings Majesties or any stampe resembling the same, and of such sorts as will best suite with the traffique and exchange of the country, both in bigger and lesser speties. And if you shall find it necessary to have for change a small sort of copper coyne, let it apeare to be what it is; but what you shall coyne of gold or silver, let it have an intrinsique value as to what it is stampd for, that it may be to our honnor and the begetting and preserving the esteeme thereof. But wee would not have you coyne any copper or other inferiour mettall before you coyne gold or silver, for to begin with that would be a disparagement to us.”

Nothing seems to have been done to carry out these instructions before the summer of 1672, when President

Aungier himself went down from Surat to Bombay to put matters in order there. Writing on September 28 to their colleagues at the former place, he and his Council say—

“The Company haveing ordred us to coine money for Bombay, and to begin with gold or silver, and they haveing sent noe gold, wee have thought good to keepe one chest of ingotts to coine into money for the use of this island. The chest taken on shoar is No. 109, wherein are five ingotts of silver” (*Factory Records: Bombay*, vol. 6).

To the Company they wrote, on October 7, 1672—

“Of the copper which we have taken ashoare . . . what we have not sold wee intend to coyne into pice for the use of your island, which we hope will also turne you to proffitt. Of the treasure sent on theis shipps . . . the ingotts wee intend, God willing, to convert into a silver coyne of your owne, according to your order” (*O. C.* 3683).

By the end of the year the coinage was an established fact, for on December 21 Aungier and his Council informed the Company that—

“In<sup>1</sup> pursuance of your order we began to erect a mint for silver, copper, and tyn; and had reserved some barrs of silver and cruzadoes for that effect; but Mr. Mathew Gray and your Councell of Surratt lamentably complayning of your great debt at interest, that your creditors demand[ed] eagerly for their money, which they had not to pay them (in regard your cloth and other goods would not sell), and earnestly desiring assistance

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<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from the original letter (*O. C.* 3722), with additions from a contemporary copy in *Factory Records: Bombay*, vol. 6.

from us to supply them what we could, we therefore after due consideration determined to send all our treasure away for Surratt towards the payment of your debts, reserveing onely just soe much as should begin the mint, in order to the carrying it on the more successfully next year. We have also begun the mint for copper and tynn, which is of great and absolutely necessary use for your island. Wee began first with silver, haveing received noe gold of yours this year. We had often serious debate, and tooke the best advise we could of the banians, sheroffs,<sup>2</sup> and others that could direct us; and have concluded that the gold and silver coyne shall be exactly in weight and finenesse equall with the rupee of Surratt;<sup>3</sup> the copper also equall with the pice of Surratt. The reason is because they will vend the more currantly in the neighbouring countrys of the Portuguese, Sevagee, and Decan, and in time probably passe as currantly in payments, which will be a notable accommodation to the trade of the island, if we can bring it soe about. As to the stampe, we have concluded them [*in copy*, that for the gold, silver, and copper] to be as followeth: On the one side the Honourable Company's armes, with this inscription within a circle incloseing the armes: *Honorabilis Societas Anglicana Indiarum Orientalium*, writ in short; on the other side, within the inward circle is engraven *Moneta Bombayae Anglicani Regiminis Anno Septimo*, and within the outward circle is inscribed the words: *A Deo Pax et Incrementum.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Banian*, or *banyan*, was the usual Anglo-Indian term for a Hindu trader. By "sheroff" is meant a *shroff*, or money-changer (Arabic *sharrāf*).

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the gold and silver rupees of Surat. Ovington, in 1690, calls the *mohur* a "gold roupie."



"The names of the coyne are thus: the gold is called *Carolina*, in remembrance of our Kings Majesty, and weighs [blank]; the silver is called *Anglina* [*Angliana in copy*], from the name of our nation, and weighs [blank; 11½ mas *in copy*]; the copper coyne is called *copperoon*, and weighs [blank; tolas 1, 2 mass *in copy*]; the tyn is called *tinny*. Wee designedly give the coynes English names, for in this and all things else we endeavour to enure the people to and teach them the English tongue, and to disuse also the Portuguese as much as we can, which will be a worke of long time, because these people have bin long accustomed thereunto. Eleven *tynny*s



AUNGIER'S ANGLIANA OF 1672.

make one *copperoon*; [blank; forty-eight *in copy*] *copperoons* makes one *Anglina* [*Angliana in copy*]; which is the currant rate at present between the rupee, pice, and buzerook [*i.e.* the Portuguese *bazarucco*]. This mint, when thoroughly settled, we hope will raise a considerable advance to the revenue. . . . We send Your Honors tenne pieces of silver, tenne pieces of copper, and tenne of tinn for your satisfaccion, desireing that if you doe not like the stampe, that you would please to signifie how you would have it altered, and we shall conforme accordingly."

These quotations fix within three months (October–December, 1672) the date of Aungier's coinage—a point

on which some doubt has hitherto been felt. It is true that the coin itself, as we have seen, bears an indication that it was struck "in the seventh year of English rule;" but previous writers have found this a stumbling-block rather than a help. Mr. Edgar Thurston, in his *History of the Coinage of the East India Company's Territories*, interpreted it to mean the seventh year from the Restoration of King Charles, and accordingly adopted 1667 as the date. The late Mr. Thomas, on the other hand (*Num. Chron.*, Series III. Vol. III. p. 45), reckoned the seven years from the grant of the charter transferring Bombay from the Crown to the East India Company, and therefore placed the coinage in 1675—a date which on his authority has been generally accepted. Of course, these writers had not seen the records quoted above; but it is strange that neither of them should have guessed that the period of English rule would be reckoned from 1665, the year in which the Portuguese actually made over the island. Seven years added to this would have given the correct date, *i.e.* 1672.

Specimens of Aungier's *Angliana* and *copperoon* may be seen in the British Museum. They are very rough pieces, and the same stamp seems to have been used in both cases. Their weights, as Mr. Grueber tells me, are respectively 177·2 and 209·6 grains; and these figures correspond fairly well with the Indian weights given in the last extract. There is no evidence that the gold *Carolina* was ever struck.

To resume our narrative. The coinage, at least of the smaller denominations, seems to have gone on, for both Thomas and Weyl mention a pice of "Anno 9," *i.e.* 1674; and on January 18, 1675, Aungier and his Council wrote to the Company—

“The mint for gold and silver also, when well settled, will turne to some advantage, but wee cannot proceed therein without possitive order from you. The copper and tinn coyne goe currant in theise partes, but that of copper of farre greater expence then the tinn.”

Meanwhile, however, the Company at home were somewhat exercised as to the right of their servants to coin and issue money without specific authority from the Crown. This was secured in 1676 by the grant of letters patent, dated October 5 in that year, by which the East India Company were permitted to coin in Bombay and its precincts moneys of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, or any metal compounded of these, to be current in the East Indies, and to be called *rupees*, *pices*, and *budgrooks*, or any other names the Company might adopt, provided they were not the names of any coins current in the King's dominions. The grant of this privilege was intimated by the Company to Surat in March, 1677, and in the same year a rupee was struck at Bombay bearing the royal arms and the legend, “By authority of Charles the Second.” Evidently no attempt was made to continue Aungier's fanciful nomenclature, for the coin is stamped, “The Rupee of Bombaim.” With this the regular issue of dated coins appears to have begun.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

## XVI.

### THE RE-COINAGE OF 1696-1697.

(See Plates XXIV., XXV.)

THE great scheme, initiated by the advisers of William III, for calling in and re-coining the hammered money, was admirably planned and rapidly carried out, though at great loss and inconvenience to the public.

The Royal Mint at the Tower of London was, at that day, quite unequal to the task of supplying, within a reasonable time, such an immense mass of coin as was immediately required to replace the worn and clipped money withdrawn from circulation, and so auxiliary mints were hurriedly established at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York, to assist in the work of coining and distributing the new currency. Now, as time was of the essence of the scheme, and the mints, or most of them, were working at high pressure, it became necessary to engrave an unusual number of dies, and, as they do not appear to have received the amount of attention which they deserve, I have attempted, in this paper, to arrange the coins struck from those dies according to their respective types, and so far as possible in the order in which they were issued to the public. The list at the end of the paper describes some ninety distinct types or varieties of die, and the particular characteristics of their impressions.

Those who have been in the habit of carefully examining the coins of the year 1697 must have noticed that the Irish harp delineated upon their reverses is sometimes represented with strings extending across it in a transverse direction, sometimes with strings stretched in a vertical direction. Such modes of arrangement are usually attributed to mere caprice on the part of the engraver; but when one finds both forms of harp occurring on coins of every denomination, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, and not only on those issued by the London mint, but also on those struck at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York as well, one cannot fail to recognize that they are deliberate marks of distinction. A minute examination of the coins of the period under review has convinced me that the particular form of the Irish harp impressed upon each is the criterion by which their sequence may be ascertained.

It will be observed that, in the table, I have specified the number of strings which the harp in each case bears, because I am inclined to think that such number indicates, at any rate in many instances, the order in which the individual die was engraved, though not necessarily the order in which the coin itself was issued from the mint. It may, on the other hand, be intended to mark the work of a particular engraver. Nevertheless, as my immediate object is merely to ascertain the characteristic types of die, I will at once state emphatically that the number of harp-strings is an insignificant detail, which for the present purpose may be disregarded.

I will first make a general remark, which applies to the coinage as a whole. Its chief feature is a marked uniformity of design. The abbreviated legends on the obverse and reverse of every coin are identical. The

stops on the obverse are usually in a straight line, as follows:—

GVLIELMVS · III · DEI · GRA ·

In a very few instances those following “Gulielmus” and “Gra” are placed above the line, or omitted altogether.

But there is a marked difference in the position of the stops of the reverse legend. Upon coins issued in 1696 they are placed alternately high and low, thus—

MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1696 ·

and this arrangement is referred to in the list as “legend α.”

Upon coins issued in 1697 the stops are level, but omitted after every alternate word, thus—

MAG BR · FRA ET · HIB REX · 1697 ·

and this arrangement is referred to in the list as “legend β.”

In a few cases the two forms of legend are interchanged between the two years. It is unlikely that every provincial mint had a staff of skilled engravers attached to it during its transient existence, and so the uniformity of design to which I have alluded, may be explained by the supposition that most of the dies were engraved in London, and forwarded to the country, in order that the mechanical process of coining might be executed there.<sup>1</sup>

Another general remark which occurs to me is that the multiplicity of types is not caused by the deliberate or accidental interchange of the obverse and reverse dies, but, on the contrary, a special pair of dies seems

<sup>1</sup> The busts are usually well engraved, but the lettering and other minor details sometimes betray more hasty and perhaps local workmanship.

to have been prepared for each of them, and their employment in co-operation has usually been adhered to.

The absence of a harp-string or of a stop in the legends may sometimes be accounted for by defective engraving, by unequal pressure in striking, or even by stress of wear and tear; but I repeat that these minutiae, though useful in ascertaining the identity of a die, do not affect the broad scheme for distinguishing types which I have adopted.

It is remarkable that, as a general rule, the provincial coins of 1697, which bear the vertical form of harp, are not only more carefully engraved (especially as regards their reverses) than those with the transverse harp, but are in a better state of preservation. Although one might infer from the dates on the dies that the whole re-coinage was effected within the space of two years, yet the Mint accounts were not made up until 1699, and I suggest that the dies with the vertical harp were engraved at the close of the year 1697, but coins were not struck from them, or at any rate issued, until after the last-mentioned date, and these, being of superior workmanship, and representing the final efforts of the provincial mints, were more carefully hoarded by local collectors as souvenirs of a disappearing *régime*.

Next, as to the vexed question of the meaning of the two forms of the letter Y on the York series. Since the coins of all the other provincial mints are distinguished by a Roman capital, the York coins marked with a Roman Y must belong to the original type. The issue was not a large one, for examples of it are comparatively rare. [Pl. XXV. 15.]

It is alleged that, as an after-thought, an Old English y [Pl. XXV. 7 and 14] was substituted for the Roman Y;

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but that was certainly not the case, because the two forms are evidently coeval. For instance, one finds a shilling and sixpence with a Roman Y, and a shilling and sixpence with an Old English y, all dated 1696, and corresponding exactly in type to those coined by the other provincial mints in the same year.

That fact alone indicates two distinct places of mintage.

Again, in the following year a sixpence with a Roman Y occurs side by side with a sixpence bearing the Old English y, and the inference becomes still stronger. I have been almost tempted to ascribe the coins with the Old English y to Southwark, because that letter had formerly been the mark of that ancient mint; but, in the absence of any evidence, I hesitate to question the unanimous opinion of numismatists that they belong to York. However, I venture to suggest that they are the offspring of a second mint, situate either within the precincts of that city, or at some other locality in the large district which its mint was designed to serve, and which included all the north-eastern portion of England.

A series of coins, which calls for especial notice, consists of crowns, shillings, and sixpences, upon which the King's bust is represented as wrapped in a mantle, and with hair falling across the breast [Pl. XXIV. 4 and Pl. XXV. 10]. Mr. Hawkins, with some hesitation, considers them to be patterns.

Very few of these crowns can have been issued. Indeed, there seems to have been little demand for any crowns at all during the reign, for none were struck at the provincial mints, one reason being that the hammered coinage of Charles II, which was being withdrawn, included no coins of that value. I have never seen the



shilling, but the sixpence of 1696 is in the British Museum, while similar ones, dated 1697, are not uncommon, and all, so far as I have observed, show signs of having been in circulation. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the entire series belongs to a type that was actually issued, but quickly abandoned. In the subsequent years of the reign, uniformity ceased to be a marked feature of the royal currency, and several examples of such transient types occur. For instance, the bust with "flaming hair" appeared and disappeared with the rapidity of a comet.

In the following list the coins are grouped under their several denominations of value, and prefixed to each group are the salient points which distinguish it. Collectors are familiar with those points, but I have thought it necessary to recapitulate them, because they must be carefully borne in mind when discriminating between the types of die. Here and there in the list occurs an obvious *hiatus*, which I cannot at present fill, as I am unable to give those minute details which are essential in forming an opinion on the subject, and I shall be glad to hear of examples which supply the missing evidence. There is reason for supposing that several of the coins mentioned by Mr. Hawkins are not in existence at the present day.

Now, if I allow the reader to wade unaided through the mass of details contained in the list, he will perhaps complain that I have left him to flounder in the mire, so I will briefly explain the scheme of its arrangement.

The sequence of crowns requires but little comment. Those having the bust with a curved cuirass occur in 1696 only, and resemble the crowns of the preceding year; so they undoubtedly come first. Next follow those

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having the bust with a straight cuirass, and dated 1696 and 1697.

The Irish harp on all the above-mentioned crowns except the last is of a clumsy shape, which had long been in vogue at the Mint, and which, for want of a better description, is referred to throughout this paper as the "deformed harp." [Cf. the half-crown, **Pl. XXIV. 6.**]

Lastly come those dated 1696, but bearing a bust with hair across the breast. [**Pl. XXIV. 4.**] This bust was immediately abandoned, perhaps for the sake of uniformity, but the reverse of these coins, with its *hooked* form of harp, and legend  $\beta$ , appears to have served as a model for that of the smaller values issued in 1697.

It may be noted, by the way, that the only other crowns struck during the reign, viz. in 1700, bear an entirely different form of harp without the female figure.

Next as to the half-crowns. I have placed those with the small shields [**Pl. XXIV. 7**] first, for their reverse is evidently copied from the last half-crown of William and Mary. They occur in 1696 only, and invariably bear the reverse legend  $\alpha$ . For some reason, which is not obvious, this neat type of reverse was not retained, and we next have half-crowns, still dated 1696, which, like the crowns of the same year, bear upon their reverse the deformed harp, and the  $\alpha$  form of legend. [**Pl. XXIV. 6.**]

Thirdly, in 1697, come half-crowns bearing large shields, with the *hooked transverse* harp, and reverse legend  $\beta$  [**Pl. XXV. 1**], though Exeter and Norwich supply specimens with legend  $\alpha$ .

Lastly, we have the type with the *hooked vertical* harp, and invariably with the reverse legend  $\beta$  [**Pl. XXV. 2**], and these exactly resemble the London half-crowns of 1698.

As to the reverses of the shillings. First, in 1696,

there is a type, which persists throughout the entire series, with a *knobbed* harp and small lions, approximating to that of 1695. [Pl. XXV. 3 and 5.]

On a Chester shilling of 1696 the second bust is conjoined with this design, perhaps accidentally.

In 1697 the knobbed harp was discarded, and we find instead an altered design with the *hooked transverse* harp, but still the small lions and usually reverse legend  $\beta$ . [Pl. XXV. 7.]

This reverse even appears on a Bristol shilling of 1696, while some similar Chester and York ( $\gamma$ ) shillings of 1697 bear the same design, with the earlier form of legend  $\alpha$ ; so I have placed it second in order.

Next come shillings with the same hooked transverse harp, but *large* lions, and always the reverse legend  $\beta$ . [Pl. XXV. 6.] At Exeter we find this design coupled with the second bust; so I have placed it third on the list.

Last of all, we have the reverse bearing a *hooked vertical* harp and large lions, which approximates to that of the shillings of 1698, and is consequently the latest in date. [Pl. XXV. 4.]

As regards the sixpences, we have the following types of reverse:—

First, a complete series, dated 1696, and bearing the deformed harp. [Pl. XXV. 9.]

Secondly, a series, dated 1697, bearing the *hooked transverse* harp, and usually the legend  $\beta$ . [Pl. XXV. 12.]

There is a London sixpence of 1696 with the first bust and this type of reverse.

The reverse of the London sixpence of 1696 with the third bust is the prototype of this design. [Pl. XXV. 10.]

Thirdly, a series, dated 1697, bearing the *hooked vertical*

harp and the legend  $\beta$ . [Pl. XXV. 13.] This resembles the London sixpence of 1698, and therefore comes last in order.

It may be observed that the reverse of the London sixpence of 1697, with the third bust, is the prototype of this design.

In conclusion, I will express a hope that the list which I have compiled may form a workable basis for elucidating the subject in hand, but the final solution of the problems involved in that subject depends upon the examination of a far larger number of specimens than an amateur has in general the good fortune to meet with.

## LIST OF COINS.

### CROWNS.

#### SALIENT POINTS.

##### A. There are three forms of bust—

First bust: The neck of the cuirass is formed by a curved line. [Pl. XXIV. 1.]

Second bust: The neck of the cuirass is formed by a straight line. [Pl. XXIV. 3.]

Third bust: With hair across the breast. [Pl. XXIV. 4, 5.]

##### B. There are two varieties of the Irish harp—

1. The deformed harp.

2. The hooked vertical harp, on the crowns of 1696 with the third bust, and that of 1697 with the second bust. [Pl. XXIV. 3, 4, and 5.]

#### LONDON.

1696. First bust (curved cuirass).

Deformed harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

*Edge*: "octavo."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 6 strings. [Pl. XXIV. 1.]

This type had already appeared in 1695 with 6 and 8 strings, and with edges inscribed "septimo" and "octavo" respectively.

1696. First bust (curved cuirass).

Deformed harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend : GVLIELMVS · III · GEI · (*sic*) GRA ·

*Rev.* legend, *a.*

*Edge* : "octavo."

This only differs from the preceding coin in having a blundered inscription on the obverse. [Pl. XXIV. 2.]

1696. Second bust (straight cuirass).

Deformed harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend, *a.*

*Edge* : "octavo."

1696. Third bust (hair across breast), larger form

[Pl. XXIV. 4.]

Hooked vertical harp, 8 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend, *β.*

*Edge* : "octavo."

This coin is in the British Museum, and shows signs of having been in circulation, so I venture to think that it belongs to the same current issue as the sixpences of similar type hereinafter mentioned. [Cf. Pl. XXV. 10.]

1696. Third bust (hair across breast), smaller form.

[Pl. XXIV. 5.]

Hooked vertical harp, 8 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend, *β.*

*Edge* : "octavo."

This coin is also in the British Museum, but I think it must be considered to be a pattern. [Cf. Pl. XXV. 11.]

1697. Second bust (straight cuirass).

Hooked vertical harp, 8 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

*Edge*: "nono."

This coin is in the British Museum, and is extremely rare. [Pl. XXIV. 3.]

1697. Third bust (hair across breast).

Hawkins mentions this coin as having been in the Cuff Collection, but I have not seen it.

## HALF-CROWNS.

### SALIENT POINTS.

- A. There is only one form of bust upon the entire series.  
[Pl. XXIV. 6.]
- B. There are two forms of shield upon the reverse—
  1. Small shields. [Pl. XXIV. 7.]
  2. Large shields. [Pl. XXIV. 6.]
- C. There are four varieties of the Irish harp—
  1. A harp, the back of which is surmounted by a species of knob, like that engraved upon the first shillings. [Pl. XXIV. 7.]
  2. The deformed harp. This appears only on the half-crowns of 1696 with large shields. [Pl. XXIV. 6.]
  3. A more artistic form of harp, the back of which is surmounted by a species of hook, and fitted with transverse strings. [Pl. XXV. 1.]
  4. A similar harp with vertical strings. [Pl. XXV. 2.]

## LONDON.

## 1696. Small shields.

Knobbed harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with  
5 strings.

## 1696. Large shields.

Deformed harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge* : "nono."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with  
8 strings.

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked vertical harp, 8 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge* : "nono."

## BRISTOL.

## 1696. Small shields.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ , varied ; stop after " Hib " is placed low*Edge* : "octavo."

## 1696. Large shields.

Deformed harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 6 strings.

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge* : "nono."

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked vertical harp, 9 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge* : "nono."

## CHESTER.

## 1696. Small shields.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 4 strings.

## 1696. Large shields.

Deformed harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 7 strings.



## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge* : "nono."

## EXETER.

## 1696. Large shields.

Deformed harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "nono."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with  
7 strings, and reverse legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked vertical harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge* : "nono."

## NORWICH.

## 1696. Small shields.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .*Edge* : "octavo."

## 1697. Variety, large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend ; level stops after every word.*Edge* : "octavo" (*sic*).

This coin is in the British Museum.

1697. Large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 8 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ , varied ; stops after "Fra" and "et" are omitted.

*Edge* : "nono."

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 6 strings, and reverse legend,  $\alpha$ .

#### YORK, WITH ROMAN Y.

1696. Large shields.

*Edge* : "octavo."

This coin is mentioned by Hawkins, but its whereabouts is not known.

#### YORK, WITH OLD ENGLISH Y.

1696. Small shields.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

*Edge* : "octavo."

1696. Large shields.

Deformed harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ , varied ; stop after "Hib" is placed low.

*Edge* : "octavo."

1697. Large shields.

Hooked transverse harp, 7 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

*Edge* : "nono." [Pl. XXV. 14.]

The specimen in the British Museum has 8 strings.

## 1697. Large shields.

Hooked vertical harp, 8 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .*Edge*: "nono."

## SHILLINGS.

## SALIENT POINTS.

## A. There are two forms of bust—

First bust. The ends of the fillet are apart, but on some of the earlier dies they are so lightly engraved that the tips only appear detached from the head. On some impressions the ends of the fillet are quite invisible. [Pl. XXV. 3.]

Second bust. The ends of the fillet lie closely side by side. [Pl. XXV. 4.]

It may be noted that on a Bristol shilling of 1697 there occurs a bust, intermediate in form between the normal first and second busts, the ends of the fillet being nearly parallel, but not *close* side by side.

## B. There are three varieties of the Irish harp—

1. A harp, the back of which is surmounted by a knob. [Pl. XXV. 3 and 5.]

2. A harp, the back of which is surmounted by a hook and fitted with transverse strings. [Pl. XXV. 7.]

3. A similar harp with vertical strings. [Pl. XXV. 4.]

## C. There are two forms of the English shield on the reverse—

1. With small lions. [Pl. XXV. 7.]

2. With large lions. [Pl. XXV. 6.]

## LONDON.

## 1696. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

This type had already appeared in 1695.

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ , varied ; with stop after "Fra."

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 6 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust. [PL XXV. 4.]

Hooked vertical harp, 5 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Third bust (with hair across breast).

This coin is mentioned by Hawkins, but I have not met with a specimen.

## BRISTOL.

## 1696. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1696. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has 6 strings.

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ , varied ; no stop after "Rex"

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 5 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ , varied ; stop after "Fra" is omitted.

## 1697. With a bust intermediate in form between the normal first and second busts.

Hooked vertical harp, 6 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 6 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## CHESTER.

## 1696. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 4 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1696. Second bust.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust. [Pl. XXV. 6.]

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with  
7 strings.

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 8 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## EXETER.

## 1696. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

This coin is in the British Museum.

## 1697. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 7 (?) strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## NORWICH.

## 1696. First bust. [Pl. XXV. 3.]

Knobbed harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend ; a stop after "Gulielmus" only.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp.

This coin was formerly in my collection, but I cannot describe it minutely.

## YORK, WITH ROMAN Y.

## 1696. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 6 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has 5 strings.

## 1697. First bust.

This coin is said by Hawkins to have been in the Cuff Collection.

## YORK, WITH OLD ENGLISH Y.

## 1696. First bust.

Knobbed harp, 5 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust. [Pl. XXV. 7.]

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings, small lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ , varied ; no stop after "Mag"

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ , varied ; no stop after " Hib "

This coin is in the British Museum.

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 7 strings, large lions.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ , varied ; a stop after " Fra "

## SIXPENCES.

## SALIENT POINTS.

## A. There are three forms of bust—

First bust : The ends of the fillet are short and blunt.  
[Pl. XXV. 8.]

Second bust : The ends of the fillet are longer and more flexible in appearance. [Pl. XXV. 15.]

Third bust : With hair across the breast. [Pl. XXV. 10 and 11.]

## B. There are three forms of the Irish harp—

1. The deformed harp. [Pl. XXV. 9.]

2. A harp with transverse strings, the back of which is surmounted by a hook. [Pl. XXV. 12.]

3. A similar harp with vertical strings. [Pl. XXV. 13.]

## C. There are three distinct varieties in the arrangement of the stops of the legend upon the obverse of the sixpences of 1696, as will be seen by reference to the descriptions.

## LONDON.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend (first variety) ; stops level.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .



1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend (second variety); stops after "Gulielmus"  
and "Gra" are higher than usual.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend (third variety); stops after "Gulielmus"  
and "Gra" are omitted.

*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

1696. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

This is a curious variety. The shape of the harp, and the legend  $\beta$ , show that it was issued late in the year.

1696. Third bust (with hair across breast). [PL. XXV. 10.]

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; no stop after "Gra"

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

*Grained edge.*

This coin is in the British Museum, and has been in circulation. It belongs to the currency, but is very rare. Similar sixpences were issued in the following year.

1696. Third bust. [PL. XXV. 11.]

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

*Grained edge.*

This coin is also in the British Museum, and bears a great resemblance to the last-mentioned sixpence, but, as it is unique, I take it to be a pattern.

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend, abnormal; no stop after "Mag," but level stops after all the other words.

The specimen in the British Museum has *rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high, and that after "Gra" is omitted.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings..

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Third bust (with hair across breast).

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend: GVLIEMVS . (*sic*) III DEI . GRA: no stops after III and GRA

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

This differs from the succeeding coin only in having a blunder in the *obv.* legend.

## 1697. Third bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; no stop after "Gra"

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## BRISTOL.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has *rev.*  
legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## CHESTER.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with  
4 strings.

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend, abnormal; no stop after "Mag," but level stops after all the other words.

The specimen in the British Museum has *rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high, and that after "Gra" is omitted.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings..

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Third bust (with hair across breast).

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend: GVLIEMVS . (*sic*) III DEI . GRA: no stops after III and GRA

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

This differs from the succeeding coin only in having a blunder in the *obv.* legend.

## 1697. Third bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; no stop after "Gra"

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## BRISTOL.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has *rev.*  
legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend ; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## CHESTER.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with  
4 strings.

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. Second bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stop after "Gulielmus" is placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## EXETER.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stops after "Gulielmus" and "Gra" are placed high.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 3 strings, and *rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ . It is remarkable for the coarse execution of the legends.

## NORWICH.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 6 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 5 strings.

## YORK, WITH ROMAN Y.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

This coin is mentioned by Hawkins, but I have not met with a specimen.

## 1697. Second bust. [Pl. XXV. 15.]

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend; stops after "Gulielmus" and "Gra" are placed high.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 5 strings.

## YORK, WITH OLD ENGLISH Y.

## 1696. First bust.

Deformed harp, 3 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\alpha$ .

## 1697. First bust.

Hooked transverse harp, 4 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

1697. First bust.

Hooked vertical harp, 5 strings.

*Obv.* legend, normal.

*Rev.* legend,  $\beta$ .

The specimen in the British Museum has a harp with 4 strings.

1697.

Variety with arms of Ireland at the top.

This coin is mentioned by Hawkins.

T. H. B. GRAHAM.



## XVII.

### AN ALLEGED PORTRAIT-MEDAL OF JOHN OF LEYDEN.



IN the Trésor de Numismatique, *Médailles exécutées en Allemagne*, Pl. XII. Nos. 8, 9, 10, are illustrated three medals described as giving portraits of the famous leader of the Anabaptists, John of Leyden, who reigned as King of Münster from 1534 to 1535. Of these three pieces, however, the second represents some other person, whose portrait bears a certain resemblance to that of John of Leyden. The description of the British Museum specimen of this rare medal is as follows:—

Bust, l., bearded, wearing flat cap; around, *incised*, IOHAN · VO · LEIDEN · CONINCK · Z · MVNS ·; under the bust, *in relief*, VIII.

*Rev.*—Coat-of-arms: on a bend, a fox running; crest: bust of a man in profile, wearing pointed cap with top bending forward and ornamented with a ball. Around, DENI (*sic*) · ALLAIN · MIT · STETTER · TREW.

Æ. 27 mm. From the collection of King George III.

Now, this coat and crest belong, not to John of Leyden, but, as is clear from Rietstap's *Armorial Général*, p. 37, to the Altensteig family of Vienna.

The grant of arms to this family dates in the first instance from 1494. It was confirmed on Nov. 18, 1530, and July 13, 1532. Rietstap describes the arms as "de gu. à la bande d'arg., ch. d'un renard courant du champ;" and the crest: "un buste d'homme, posé de profil, hab. de gu. bout. d'or, au rabat d'arg., coiffé d'un bonnet pointu de gu. retr. d'arg., le sommet courbé en avant et orné d'une boule d'arg." On April 13, 1540, the family was elevated to the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire, and the arms augmented, the old bearing being impaled with the following coat: "d'or, à l'aigle cont. de sa., cour. du champ, ch. d'un saut. diminué alésé de gu., br. sur les ailes et sur les pieds de l'aigle." The coat on the medal, therefore, dates from before 1540, and the style of the medal justifies us in assuming that it dates from the year 1538. Probably what happened was this: This member of the Altensteig family gave an order for a hone-stone model, with a view to having a medal made. On the artist presenting it, he found the mistake DENI for DEIN in the reverse inscription, and very possibly for this reason refused it. The artist then erased the greater part of the obverse inscription, which presumably read: . . . . ALTENSTEIG ÆTATIS SVÆ . . . ANNO MDXXXVIII, but forgot to take out the figures VIII, which still remain in relief under the bust. He then incised the present obverse inscription, making the portrait serve for that of John of Leyden to whom it indeed bears a superficial resemblance. And from this model the present medal was cast. Further research in the history of the Altensteig family will doubtless enable us to

identify exactly the person represented. Meanwhile it has seemed worth while to put the above facts and conjectures on record.

MAX ROSENHEIM.

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## MISCELLANEA.

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### PRESENTATION TO DR. BARCLAY HEAD.

THE retirement of Dr. Head in June last from the Keepership of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum has, as all readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle* are aware, been signalized by the publication in his honour of a volume of essays on Greek and Roman Numismatics, bearing the title *Corolla Numismatica*.<sup>1</sup> The subscribers to the fund which was raised to bear the expenses of the publication were drawn from all parts of the world—from the United States to Australia, and from St. Petersburg to Algiers. Naturally, it was impossible that all these persons should come together on the occasion of the presentation of the volume to Dr. Head on November 1st last; but in response to the invitation which was issued to the subscribers resident in the United Kingdom, a large number attended in the Board Room of the British Museum, where by kind permission of the authorities the presentation took place.

Sir John Evans, K.C.B., Chairman of the Committee of the Head Testimonial Fund, presided. He read a letter from Dr. George Macdonald, Honorary Keeper of the Hunterian Collection, regretting his inability to be present. Letters had also been received from other subscribers to the same effect.

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<sup>1</sup> *Corolla Numismatica*: Numismatic Essays in honour of Barclay Vincent Head. With a Portrait, and Eighteen Plates. Henry Frowde: Oxford University Press, 1906, pp. xvi. + 386, 30s. nett. The Essays are by E. Babelon, Adrien Blanchet, Prof. Heinrich Dressel, A. J. Evans, Sir John Evans, H. B. Earle Fox, H. von Fritze, Allotte de la Fuye, Ettore Gâbrici, Hugo Gaebler, Prof. P. Gardner, H. A. Grueber, E. J. Haeblerlin, G. F. Hill, F. Imhoof-Blumer, Christian Jörgensen, George Macdonald, Robert Mowat, Prof. C. Oman, Paul Perdrizet, Prof. B. Pick, Prof. E. J. Rapson, K. Regling, Théodore Reinach, A. Sambon, I. Svoronos, Sir Hermann Weber, R. Weil, H. Willers, and Warwick Wroth.

In presenting a copy of the *Corolla Numismatica* to Dr. Head, Sir John dwelt on the long and friendly relations which had subsisted between Dr. Head and himself, as officer and Trustee respectively of the British Museum, and as colleagues in the Royal Numismatic Society. He reviewed the long series of publications to which Dr. Head's name was attached, beginning with his early articles on Anglo-Saxon Numismatics; continuing with his monographs on Syracuse and other Greek states, and with the eleven volumes of the Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, written by him either wholly or in collaboration with his colleagues, Stuart Poole and Percy Gardner; and culminating in the *Historia Numorum*, of which the second edition is now in preparation. In conclusion, he laid stress on the international character of the "Numismatic Crown" which he presented to Dr. Head in the name of the subscribers, with the hope that he would long be spared to continue his labours in the field of Numismatics.

Dr. Head, in acknowledging the presentation and expressing his thanks to Sir John Evans, to the Committee, and to all the subscribers for the great honour which they had done him, gave an account of the changes through which the Department of Coins and Medals had passed since he first entered it nearly forty-three years ago. He described his first interview with the then Principal Librarian, the somewhat formidable Antonio Panizzi, who tested his knowledge of Italian by asking him to construe the ominous line: "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate." He sketched the pleasant relations of the staff of the Medal Room with the scholars and collectors of the time, such as Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Ellis, General Fox, Sir A. H. Layard; the conditions of work, less rigid then than now; the undertaking, in common with Mr. R. S. Poole and Mr. Percy Gardner, of the classification and arrangement of the Greek series (which till then had been arranged under metals, without chronological system), of the various monographs on Greek states, and above all of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins. That work had now reached its twenty-fifth volume, and would, he hoped, be completed before long. As to the *Corolla Numismatica*, he could not express himself, since he had had no opportunity of examining it; but he wished once more to utter his warmest thanks to every one concerned, especially to the Chairman.

Professor Percy Gardner, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that it would have been quite impossible to have any one else than Sir John Evans in the chair on such an occasion, considering his relations with the Museum and the

study of Numismatics in England. He desired to lay stress on the important part played in the development of that study by the late Professor Stuart Poole, to whose suggestion the Catalogue of Greek Coins was indeed due. The work of the English numismatists of the seventies had laid the foundations of the modern study of Greek Numismatics in the matter of classification. He would, however, like to indicate a line of research which various scholars, with whom he had spoken, agreed could be pursued with profit, and that was the history of ancient commerce as illustrated by coins. This was a great undertaking, which would form a fitting pendant to a work so intimately connected with Dr. Head's name; and it was a task which could best be done by those who were accustomed to catalogue Greek coins, and to handle them daily.

Mr. C. F. Keary, as another of Dr. Head's old colleagues, seconded the vote of thanks to the Chairman. The motion was carried by acclamation; and Sir John Evans having briefly replied, the proceedings terminated.



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**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.**



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1905—1906.

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OCTOBER 19, 1905.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,  
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

H. F. Newall, Esq., F.R.S., and Herr Armin Egger were  
elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the  
table :—

1. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe  
des Lettres. Nos. 3–5, 1905.

2. Atlantino di Monete Papali. By S. Ambrosoli. From  
the Editor.

3. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. ix., Nos. 2, 3.

4. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Tome xii., livr. 2;  
Tome xiii., livr. 1.

5. Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Deputy-Master of  
the Mint, 1904.

6. Report of the Museum of the Smithsonian Institute,  
1903.

7. Archives de la France Monastique. No. 1.

8. Annual of the British School at Athens. No. x.

9. Revue Belge de Numismatique. Livr. 3, 4, 1905.

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10. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Jan.-Juin, 1905.
11. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. xxv., Sec. C, Nos. 10, 11.
12. *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*. From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
13. *Revue Numismatique*. 2<sup>me</sup> trim., 1905.
14. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. II., III., 1905.
15. *Les Monnaies de Guillaume de Bronckhorst*. By the Vic<sup>e</sup> B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
16. *Third Annual Report of the Horniman Museum*. From the London County Council.
17. *Das Tempelbild der Athena Polias auf den Münzen von Priene*. By H. Dressel. From the Author.
18. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Nos. 263-267.
19. *Medal to commemorate the Visit of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra to the City on October 25, 1902*. From the Corporation of the City of London.
20. *Médailles de Marie de Médicis et d'Henri IV*. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.
21. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> trim., 1905.
22. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxv., Pts. 2, 3.
23. *Une Médaille Suisse rare*. By L. Forrer. From the Author.
24. *Un Sou d'or de Maxime*. By L. Forrer. From the Author.
25. *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age*. By M. M. Engel and Serrure. From the Authors.
26. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*. No. xlv.
27. *Report of the Government Museum, Madras, 1904-1905*.
28. *The Berkshire Education Committee Medal "For Regular Attendance"*. Bronze. From W. C. F. Anderson, Esq.



Mr. W. S. Lincoln exhibited a series of medals of Nelson in silver, bronze, and pewter.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a York halfpenny of Henry VIII struck by Wolsey and bearing his initials, T. W. This coin is unpublished.

Mr. W. J. Webster exhibited a sixpence of the first coinage of James I with mint-mark a thistle-head; a pattern broad in silver by Rawlins of Charles I, and a crown of Charles II of 1663.

Mr. H. B. Earle-Fox showed a lead impression of the obverse of the tetradrachm of Euthydemus II of Bactria.

The President read a Paper on "The Silver Map-Medal of Sir Francis Drake." This medal, of which only three specimens are known, consists of a thin silver circular plate engraved on one face with the Eastern hemisphere, and on the other, with the Western. The course taken by Drake in his famous voyage round the world is marked by a dotted line, the date of his departure being inscribed "1577 ID. DEC." (*i.e.* December 13), and of his return, "1580 4 CAL. OC." (*i.e.* September 28). The President gave some interesting particulars of Drake's voyage. This medal was issued soon after Drake's return. This paper is printed on pp. 77 f.

Mr. Percy Webb gave an account of a recent find of Roman coins at Little Wellington Wood, near Watchfield, in Berkshire. The coins were discovered in an old stone-lined well, and were contained in a small earthenware vessel. They numbered only twenty-three, and extended from the reign of Gallienus to those of Carausius and Allectus, the coins of the last two Emperors having been struck at London and Colchester. The date of the burial was c. 295 A.D.

NOVEMBER 16, 1905.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Edward Francklin, Esq., J. Mavrogordato, Esq., E. T. Newell, Esq., Evelyn W. Rashleigh, Esq., Robert Scott, Esq., and A. J. B. Wace, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Oxford Silver Pennies. By C. L. Stainer. From the Author.

2. Die Freiheit dargestellt unter dem Bilde der Martha Washington auf Münzen der Vereinigten Staaten von America. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

3. Le Monument funèbre de Thémistocle. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

4. The Thirty Pieces of Silver. By G. F. Hill. From the Author.

5. Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres. Nos. 6–8.

6. La Médaille énigmatique. By E. Parisot. From the Author.

7. Revue Numismatique. 3<sup>me</sup> trim., 1905.

8. Bulletin de Numismatique. Juil.–Sept., 1905.

9. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xxxix., No. 4, and lx., No. 1.

10. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow. Vol. iii. From the Trustees of the Collection.

11. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien No. 268.

12. Notices Extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.

Mr. T. Bearman exhibited a quarter bawbee of James V of Scotland, this denomination being unpublished.

Mr. J. B. Colson showed a bronze Anglo-Saxon brooch, the centre ornament of which was copied from a coin of Edward the Elder.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited two bronze Roman sestertii of Scantilla, wife of Didius Julianus, and of Geta, in very fine condition; and an Anglo-Gallic salute of Henry VI.

Sir Augustus Prevost showed a medal struck in copper taken from the *Victory*, and distributed at a dinner given by the British and Foreign Sailors Society.

Mr. W. J. Webster showed a half-groat of Aquitaine of Edward III with the Irish title "Dux Hibernie" in place of "Dux Aquitanie."

A note by the late Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick on "Some Original Documents relating to Touch-Pieces" was read by the Secretary. Amongst them was an order of James I directing the Wardens of the Mint to strike some new angels for his use at the ceremony of touching, this being the coin then used for that purpose; and directions to the Treasurer and Under-Treasurer to pay for the same. Some interesting particulars were given relating to the touch-pieces issued after the Restoration.

Mr. J. G. Milne communicated a paper on "Roman Coin-Moulds from Egypt," in which he described the use of these moulds and the manner in which coins were cast in them. This process appears to have been a *cire perdue* one. The moulds were made from coins of the beginning of the fourth century, mostly struck at the mint of Alexandria. In the course of recent excavations at Oxyrhynchus, it was ascertained that the proportion of cast coins discovered there was one in five.—In connection with the paper the President and Mr. G. F. Hill exhibited a series of similar moulds, some of which had been found in England, the others coming from Egypt. This paper is printed in Vol. v. pp. 342 f.

DECEMBER 21, 1905.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Miss Edith Cornelia Clarke and Percy J. D. Baldwin, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxv., Pt. 2.
2. Winchester College. Medal-Speaking. By H. Chitty. From the Author.
3. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 269.
4. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. Tome xxix., livr. ix.-xii.
5. Iconographie par les Médailles des Empereurs romains. Pt. iii. By Jules Maurice. From the Author.
6. L'Atelier Monétaire de Cyzique pendant la Période Constantinienne; also L'Atelier d'Arles. By Jules Maurice. From the Author.
7. Die deutschen Münzen. Band iv. By H. Dannenberg. From the Author.
8. Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Pl. xxx.-xl. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a pattern half-crown of the Commonwealth, dated 1651, the work of Ramage; and proofs in silver of the gun-money crown and half-crown of 1690 of James II.

Mr. F. G. Hilton Price showed a rose-noble of Edward IV with mint-mark a crown, and reading HIBAT for IBAT.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a base denarius of Carausius, reading on the reverse, apparently, ROM · ET · AVG, and with figure holding sceptre and patera; and a sestertius of

Augustus struck c. 10 B.C., and counter-marked with the head of Vespasian and a figure holding a wreath. These counter-marks are probably of Alexandria.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed an angel of Henry VII of the first coinage, with mint-mark a rose, three ropes from the stern of the ship, and reading DNS. HIB.

Mr. Percy Webb read a paper on "The Coinage of Allectus." Having given some particulars of the little-known history of this Romano-British Emperor, the writer proceeded to discuss the classification of his coins, which are of gold and copper, the latter sometimes washed with silver, and which he attributed to the mints of London and Colchester. The gold coins are of London only. At each mint the different issues were distinguished by a series of letters placed on the reverses, which in some cases are difficult of interpretation. The paper was accompanied by a description of the coins, arranged, where possible, under the mints. Of the London mint there were 89 types or varieties of types, and of Colchester 91. In compiling this list Mr. Webb had consulted the public collections in London, Oxford, Glasgow, Paris, &c., and many private ones. This paper is printed on pp. 127 f.

Mr. W. Wroth communicated a paper on "Select Greek Coins in the British Museum," amongst which he described some interesting pieces of early date of the towns of Scione in Macedon, and Aenus in Thrace. The most remarkable piece lately acquired for the National Collection is a drachm of Atarneus, in Mysia, having the head of Apollo on the obverse and a coiled serpent on the reverse. It has been suggested that the serpent may be a *type parlant* of Drakon, who commanded the garrison after its capture by the Spartans in 397 B.C.; but Mr. Wroth was not disposed to accept this interpretation, as the same type occurs on coins of Atarneus of a considerably later date. He therefore suggested that it was the badge or arms of the town. This paper is printed in Vol. v. pp. 324 f.

JANUARY 18, 1906.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

John Robinson McClean, Esq., and Charles Sawyer, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Numismatic Circular, 1905. From Messrs. Spink & Son.
2. Monnaies de l'Elymaïde. By Col. Allotte de la Fuyë. From the Author.
3. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xi., No. 2.
4. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. ix., No. 4 ; and Annual Reports for 1904–1905.
5. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 1<sup>re</sup> livr., 1906.
6. Bulletin de Numismatique. Oct.–Dec., 1905.
7. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxv., Sec. C, No. 12.
8. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xx., No. 2.
9. Annual Report of the Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution. June, 1904.
10. Revue Numismatique. 4<sup>me</sup> trim., 1905.
11. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Académie royale de Belgique. Nos. 9–11.
12. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3<sup>me</sup> trim., 1905.
13. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. IV., 1905.

Miss H. Farquhar exhibited and described a half-crown of Charles I with the mint-mark a horizontal anchor on the obverse and a triangle on the reverse, and with the square garnished shield for type. This design was evidently copied

from Briot's half-crown, but the mint-mark on the reverse changed from an anchor to a triangle. This coin is described and figured on p. 219.

Mr. Percy Webb exhibited some forgeries of Roman imperial coins.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a "second brass" of Manlia Scantilla, wife of the Roman Emperor Didius Julianus, with type of reverse Juno and peacock; and also a "large brass" of Valerian with "Fides Militum" struck on a large *flan*.

Lady Evans read a paper on "Hair-dressing of Roman Ladies." Having referred to the Latin writers who had mentioned the subject of female dress, especially Ovid, who said that it would be easier to number the leaves on an oak-tree than to enumerate the varieties of hair-dressing, Lady Evans gave an interesting chronological description of the modes of arranging the hair, showing how the simple knot at the back of the head of the Republican Period quickly developed into the curlings and crimpings of early Imperial times. The elaborate fashions of dressing the hair do not appear to have continued after the second century, from which time more simple forms were again adopted. The paper was illustrated by a large series of photographs from coins, extending from the period of the Republic to the end of the fifth century A.D. This paper is printed on pp. 37 f.

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FEBRUARY 15, 1906.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Howland Wood, Esq., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Transactions of the Japan Society. Vol. vi.

2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 270.

3. *Archaeologia Cantiana*. Vol. xxvii.

4. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxv., Pt. 4.

5. Louis de Luxembourg a-t-il frappé monnaie? By the Vic<sup>e</sup> B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

6. Bonner Jahrbücher. Heft 113.

7. Proceedings and Papers of the 47th Annual Meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 1905.

8. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxvi., Sec. C, No. 1.

9. Notices Extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.

10. Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society. Pts. 1-8. From G. C. Williamson, Esq.

11. (a) English Coins of Charles I. By W. L. Nash.

(b) *Raccolta Numismatica del R. Museo di Torino*. Monete Consolari. By A. Fabretti.

(c) The Waterloo Medal. By Isaac Meyer.

(d) *Les Médailleurs Italiens*. By A. Armand.

(e) Catalogue of a Selection of Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

(f) Sotheby's Sale Catalogues, 1841-1848.

(g) Sale Catalogue of the Collection of Joseph Miller, 1829. From Sir John Evans, K.C.B.

12. Catalogue of Zodiacs and Planispheres. By A. B. Grimaldi. From the Author.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a London halfpenny of Henry VI of the annulet and rosette coinage. This denomination appears to be unpublished.

Miss McDowall read a paper on "*Contorniates and Tabulae Lusoriae*," in which she argued that contorniates, medallic pieces of disputed origin, were in reality *calculi* used for



games played on various forms of *tabulae*, with which they can be connected through similar symbols and inscriptions occurring on both, as well as through the description given by Isidorus. They appear to be of numismatic origin; many are actual copies of coins (used as draughtsmen by the ostentatious), and all bear a strong resemblance to them. The obverse types are usually portraits, literary or imperial; and the reverse types are very varied, including subjects connected with the circus and amphitheatre, legendary scenes, and representations of daily life. Twelve interesting types, hitherto unpublished or imperfectly described, were then dealt with, these including a subject from the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, in which the actors wear the full tragic dress; Hercules spinning in the dress of Omphale; Jason taming the brazen bulls, and a reproduction of an important and otherwise unknown coin of Metropolis with the head of Solon.—In connection with this paper the President exhibited a series of contorniates and a facsimile sketch of an incised slab in the Forum at Rome, which from certain symbols on it—often found also on contorniates—had evidently served as a *tabula* on which games could be played. In conjunction with Lady Evans, the President showed how the game could be played after a set of rules which he had drawn up.

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MARCH 15, 1906.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

G. Charlton Adams, Esq., A. M. Mitchison, Esq., Thomas Francis J. Lovelace Hercy, Esq., E. A. Mitchell-Innes, Esq., J. Gordon Laughlin, Esq., A. J. Vooght Radford, Esq., and Capt. H. W. Williamson were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. Jan.-Fev., 1906.
2. The Chaplains and the Chapels of the University of Cambridge. By H. P. Stokes.
3. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. No. 12, 1905.
4. Münchener Münz-Verkehr. Marz, 1906.
5. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 271.
6. Rhégium Chalcidense. By Dr. Pieter Larizza. From the Author.
7. Les Jetons et les Épreuves de Monnaies frappées à Paris pour Marie Stuart. By P. Bordeaux. From the Author.
8. Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. iii.
9. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. iii., Ser. iv.
10. Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut de Luxembourg. Vol. i.
11. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xl., No. 2.

Mr. A. Radford exhibited an Anglo-Saxon penny of Eadweard the ~~Elder~~<sup>Meek</sup> struck at Totnes, and bearing the moneyer's name, Wynstan. This is the earliest coin known of this mint, none before Aethelraed II having been hitherto recorded.

Mr. Percy Webb exhibited a series of Roman *dupondii* or "second brass" of the first to the third centuries A.D.

Mr. Neville Langton showed two early Athenian tetradrachms, each with a square punch-mark on the reverse, which had been found on the site of Naukratis, in Egypt.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a half-groat which bears the name of Richard II, but which, he was of opinion, was not struck till the following reign of Henry IV.

Mr. Thomas Bliss showed a series of "truck-tickets" used at various collieries and ironworks.

Dr. Barclay V. Head communicated a paper on "The Earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins." Dr. Imhoof-Blumer had in 1883 attributed a tetradrachm bearing the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, together with the head of Zeus on the obverse, and an eagle standing on a thunderbolt on the reverse, to Alexander the Great, and supposed it to represent his first local issue in Macedon. On account of the acquisition by the British Museum of two of these coins which came from India, Dr. Head proposed to remove this series from the extreme west to the extreme east of Alexander's empire, and to regard them, further, as belonging not to the beginning of his reign, but to about the time of his death, or even to a somewhat later date.—In connection with these coins, Dr. Head called attention to certain imitations of Athenian coins which he would also class to the same district. This paper is printed on pp. 1 f.

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APRIL 19, 1906.

OLIVER. CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., Librarian, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, &c., in the Museum of the Royal Mint. Vol. i. By W. J. Hocking. From the Deputy-Master of the Mint.
2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 272.
3. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxvi., Sec. C, Nos. 2-4.

4. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 2<sup>me</sup> livr., 1906.
5. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Jan.-Mar., 1906.
6. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. I., 1906.
7. Notes sur les Signatures de Graveurs sur les Monnaies grecques. By L. Forrer. From the Author.
8. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. x., No. 1.
9. *Revue Numismatique*. 1<sup>re</sup> trim., 1906.
10. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxvi., Pt. 1.
11. Bicentenary Medal of the Château de Ramazay, issued by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal. From the Society.

Mr. Hilton Price exhibited a noble of Henry V of his last coinage, having for mint-mark a perforated cross. Above the king's wrist is an annulet, and below it a mullet; and on the reverse a quatrefoil in the first quarter of the cross, and a trefoil in the last.

Dr. J. Keer showed a plated clipped half-crown of Charles I struck at the Tower Mint.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a large brass of Antoninus Pius with reverse type "Laetitia," and a second brass of the same Emperor with a seated figure of Britannia. These coins, with others of the same period, were found recently near London.

Mr. Walters read a paper on "The Coinage of Henry V," in which, after stating that the new coinage of the last year of Henry IV was probably still in progress at his death, he suggested that, in order to avoid delay, his dies were made available for his successor by the simple process of punching them with a mullet (one of the marks of Henry V). The paper dealt with the several issues of this reign, which were classified in their chronological order on fairly certain internal evidence. The adoption of special marks, such as the mullet, the broken annulet, and the complete annulet, was dealt

with at some length, and a particular significance, not hitherto attached to them, was proposed for their occurrence. This paper is printed on pp. 172 f.

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MAY 17, 1906.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

W. Gedney Beatty, Esq., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Hugh Drummond McEwen, Esq., was elected to represent the Society at the next audit of the Society's Accounts.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Vol. xxxvii., 1905.
2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 273.
3. Notices Extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.
4. Kwan-ei-tsu-no. Coins of Japan. By H. A. Ramsden. From the Author.
5. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. Vol. xxx., Pts. 3-5.
6. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesterkers Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1905.
7. Benedetto Pistrucci. By L. Forrer. From the Author.
8. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1904.
9. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4<sup>me</sup> trim., 1905.
10. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1905.

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11. Fourth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, 1905. From the London County Council.

12. Contributions à la Numismatique orientale, Pt. II. By E. von Zambaur. From the Author.

13. Kollection Ernst Prinz zu Windisch-Grätz. Orientalische Münzen. By E. von Zambaur. From the Author.

14. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. No. 192, 1906; and the Annuaire, 1906.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a groat struck in the name of Richard II, and having on the breast of the king a crescent.

Mr. Percy Webb showed a "large brass" of Faustina the Younger with reverse type of "Pudicitia" in very fine condition; and a plaque executed by the French artist Dupuis. It was one of his latest works.

Mr. W. T. Ready exhibited a penny of Cnut struck at Bath of the type Hawkins No. 207, and with the moneyer's name, "Aelfrici."

The President showed a "large brass" of Agrippina the Elder with reverse type a carpentum. The coin was almost in perfect condition.

The President communicated some notes on two copper coins of Carausius belonging to Mr. Jethro A. Cossins. One coin, with the usual type of "Pax" on the reverse, weighs no less than 133 grs. troy. The other coin has for reverse type a helmeted male figure standing near a trophy, at the foot of which are two seated figures.

Mr. Grueber read a paper on "The Coinage of Luceria in Apulia." Hitherto two series of coins of contemporary issue have been attributed to that town—an autonomous series based on the Roman bronze standard, dating from *circ.* 314-230 B.C.; the other, also following the Roman standard, but of the same types as coins struck at the Roman Mint;

distinguished, however, in bearing on each denomination the additional letter *l*, evidently the initial of a town. The latter is of silver and bronze. As there seems to be no parallel of a city in Italy at that time issuing two contemporary series of coins of different types but based on the same standard, it was suggested that those of the Roman pattern may be attributed to some other place, possibly Lanuvium in Latium. If, however, both series emanated from Luceria, it must be accepted as a fact that there were two mints there, one issuing coins intended only for circulation in the city and the neighbourhood; the other, for military purposes, which would be current in all districts into which the armies of Rome penetrated.

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JUNE 21, 1906.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,  
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Rev. A. W. Hands and Lieut.-Col. H. Walters Morrisson were appointed scrutators of the ballot for the Election of the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year.

The following Report of the Council was then read to the meeting:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

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With much regret they have to announce the death of the following five Ordinary Fellows :—

Richard A. Hoblyn, Esq., F.S.A.  
 George Hodges, Esq.  
 J. M. C. Johnston, Esq.  
 Thomas W. Kitt, Esq.  
 C. E. G. Mackerell, Esq.

The Council also regret to announce the resignation of the following seven Ordinary Fellows :—

W. S. Bird, Esq.  
 William J. Davis, Esq.  
 Edgar de Knevett, Esq.  
 Hugh John Lofting, Esq.  
 G. H. Pedler, Esq.  
 J. Doyle Smithe, Esq., F.S.A.  
 J. W. Trist, Esq., F.S.A.

On the other hand, the Council have much pleasure in recording the Election of the following twenty-one Ordinary Fellows :—

Geoffrey Charlton Adams, Esq.	E. A. Mitchell-Innes, Esq.
Percy J. D. Baldwin, Esq.	A. M. Mitchison, Esq.
W. Gedney Beatty, Esq.	Hugh Frank Newall, Esq., F.R.S.
Miss Edith Cornelia Clarke.	E. T. Newell, Esq.
Herr Armin Egger.	A. J. Vooght Radford, Esq.
Edward Francklin, Esq.	Evelyn W. Rashleigh, Esq.
Thomas F. J. L. Hercy, Esq., J.P., D.L.	Charles Sawyer, Esq.
John Gordon Laughlin, Esq., F.C.A., F.S.S.	Robert Scott, Esq.
J. Mavrogordato, Esq.	A. J. B. Wace, Esq.
John Robinson McClean, Esq.	Howland Wood, Esq.
	Capt. W. H. Williamson.



It will be seen from the above statement that whilst the losses by death are below the average, those by resignation show a slight increase on last year; but the elections of new Fellows continue to increase the numerical status of the Society.

As compared with last year, the number of Fellows is, therefore, as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1905 . . . . .	303	21	324
Since elected . . . . .	21	—	21
	324	21	345
Deceased . . . . .	5	—	5
Resigned . . . . .	7	—	7
June, 1906 . . . . .	312	21	333

To the above may be added the Newberry Library, Chicago.

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the Medal of the Society to Commendatore Francesco Gnechi, in recognition of his services to Numismatics, especially in connection with the Roman Imperial Coinage.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then submitted to the meeting.

**STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-  
FROM JUNE, 1905,**

**Dr. THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT**

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Royal Asiatic Society, Rent, 1905 . . .	30	0	0			
„ „ „ „ 1906 . . .	30	0	0			
				60	0	0
„ Messrs. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., for print- ing <i>Chronicle</i> , October 24, 1905 . . .	59	15	8			
„ „ „ „ January 22, 1906 . . .	46	6	3			
„ „ „ „ March 16, 1906 . . .	42	3	1			
				148	5	0
„ Autotype Co. (Plates), October 24, 1905 . . .	32	11	0			
„ „ „ „ January 22, 1906 . . .	20	14	4			
				53	5	4
„ T. Mills (Stationery), July 25, 1905 . . .	1	14	6			
„ „ „ „ May 10, 1906 . . .	1	1	6			
				2	16	0
„ J. Pinches (Altering Dies), October 24, 1905 . . .	6	6	0			
„ „ (Medals), November 27, 1905 . . .	12	7	6			
				18	13	6
„ Messrs. Hachette and Co. (books) . . .				7	6	
„ Artists' Illustration Co. . . .				12	6	
„ Translation of Numismatic article . . .				2	2	0
„ Mrs. Harper (Refreshments) . . .	5	1	4			
„ „ (Gratuity) . . .	6	6	0			
				11	7	4
„ Insurance . . . . .				15	0	
„ F. Anderson (Drawing) . . . . .				10	0	
„ Dr. Head's Testimonial . . . . .				2	2	0
„ H. Bowyer and Co. (Bookbinding) . . . . .				3	2	11
„ Cheque returned by Bank, July 12, 1905 . . .				25	13	9
„ Secretary's Account . . . . .				5	0	0
„ Treasurer's Account . . . . .				1	3	0
„ Subscription returned (J. W. Trist) . . . . .				1	1	0
„ Balance at Bankers'—						
General Balance . . . . .	207	10	6			
Montagu Bequest Fund . . . . .	64	4	0			
				271	14	6
				£608	11	4
L. & N.-W. Ry. Preference Stock . . . . .	640	0	0			
Montagu Bequest . . . . .	£60	0	0			
„ „ Interest to date . . . . .	4	4	0			
				64	4	0

# MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, TO JUNE, 1906.

WITH WILLIAM C. BOYD, HON. TREASURER.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Balance in hand . . . . .				189	11	7
„ Subscriptions, 250 at 21s. . . . .	262	10	0			
„ Entrance Fees, 21 at 21s. . . . .	22	1	0			
				284	11	0
„ Life Subscription . . . . .				14	14	0
„ Sale of <i>Chronicles</i> , T. Bliss . . . . .		14	0			
„ „ „ Quaritch . . . . .	25	13	9			
„ „ „ „ . . . . .	41	1	3			
				67	9	0
„ L. & N.-W. Ry. Dividend, September, 1905 . . . . .	12	2	0			
„ „ „ „ February, 1906 . . . . .	12	2	0			
				24	4	0
„ Cheque returned . . . . .				25	13	9
„ Interest on Montagu Bequest . . . . .				2	8	0

£608 11 4

W. C. BOYD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

H. D. McEWEN, } *Hon. Auditors.*  
PERCY H. WEBB, }

June, 1906.

The Reports of the Council and of the Hon. Treasurer having been adopted, the President handed the Society's Medal to Mr. H. A. Grueber, to convey to Commendatore Francesco Gnechi, who was unable to attend the meeting, and addressed him as follows :—

Mr. Grueber,—Inasmuch as the Commendatore Francesco Gnechi is unable to come to England so as to be present here this evening, I must ask you to receive, on his behalf, this Medal which has been awarded to him by the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society, in recognition of his services to numismatic science, especially in the department of the Roman Imperial series of coins.

His intimate connection with the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, now in the nineteenth year of its existence, is probably known to all present, and his numerous contributions to that periodical relating to the coins and medallions of the Roman Empire, some of which are of capital importance, have widely extended our knowledge.

His excellent little *Handbook of Roman Coins* has, thanks to the translation by our Fellow, Mr. Hands, become familiar to English readers.

Signor Gnechi has also laboured in other fields than the Roman, though mainly in conjunction with his brother, Signor Ercole Gnechi, as witness his volumes on the *Coins of Milan*, and on those of the *Trivulzi*, to say nothing of their universal *Directory of Numismatists*, which many have found most useful. It would, indeed, be hard to find any one who, in an unofficial capacity, has devoted himself more thoroughly to the advancement of numismatic knowledge, or who has achieved greater success. His personal courtesy is also known and appreciated by some of those present.

In conveying this mark of our esteem and approbation to him, will you express our regret at not seeing him among us

this evening, and our hope that he may long be spared to continue his meritorious labours?

Mr. Grueber replied as follows :—

Sir John Evans,—I have much pleasure in receiving, on behalf of Commendatore Francesco Gneecchi, the Medal of the Royal Numismatic Society, which the Council have awarded to him for his services to Roman numismatics. I can fully endorse all that you have said about Commendatore Gneecchi, and I thank you on his behalf for the complimentary expressions which have accompanied the placing of the medal in my hands. I had the pleasure of making Commendatore Gneecchi's personal acquaintance last year at Milan, and I am unable to describe in words the hearty welcome which he gave me. He not only allowed me to examine his large collection of coins, but he also permitted me to select from his duplicates of Roman Republican coins any examples which the British Museum would like, and which he generously presented. Since then I have been in more frequent communication with Commendatore Gneecchi, and have always found him most willing to answer my numerous, and I fear sometimes tedious, queries. I do not think I need say any more on my own part; but before reading the following letter, which I have received from Commendatore Gneecchi, I should like to call attention to the two handsomely bound volumes, which contain his valuable and interesting communications to the *Rivista Italiana*, and which he offers for presentation to the Society :—

“ Via Filodrammatici 10, Milano,

“ 15th June, 1906.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ As it is impossible for me to come to London, I address this letter to you, in order to charge you to act as my medium for the Royal Numismatic Society. As I

have already written to you, the communications which I received from you and from Sir John Evans about the medal awarded to me by the Council of the Society arrived quite unexpectedly, and caused me extreme surprise. Really I never expected such a reward for my few and poor studies on Roman Imperial numismatics, having considered myself not so much a scholar as a simple *dilettante*. But I must say that I have been not less pleased. The eminent company in which I am placed, which includes his Majesty the King of Italy, makes me proud, and I am also happy in thinking that the testimonial of your Society is addressed not only to me personally, but principally to my country. It brings its contribution to the good feeling which has long existed between England and Italy, and which has lately been further promoted by the visit of the Lord Mayor of London.

"I accept the medal with a most grateful heart, and I am especially glad to receive this testimonial from England, whence I received my first encouragement in 1893, when I was elected an honorary member of the Numismatic Society of London, and whence, and especially from you, sir, I have been encouraged to undertake the hard work of the *Corpus of Roman Medallions*. You must remember that but little more than a year ago you did me the honour and the pleasure of a visit in Milan. It has been your encouragement and your insisting kindness which overcame my hesitation. I can also add that I think my work will prove a complete success if museums and private collectors of other countries will be as helpful and will render me the assistance which I have met with from England, and for which I profess my best sentiments of acknowledgment.

"I beg you, then, to receive the medal on my behalf, and to convey to the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society, and principally to its honoured President, who for many years has honoured me with his much-esteemed friendship,

the best thanks in my name, and in the name also of the Italian Numismatic Society, which has been honoured in its Vice-President.

"I send you and beg to present to the Library of the Royal Numismatic Society the complete series of my notes (*Appunti*) on Roman Numismatics, to which I will add any further contributions.

"Yours very truly,

"FRO. GNECCHI.

"To Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A."

### THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

At the end of another Session it becomes my duty, as has been the case, I am afraid to say for how many preceding years, to offer to the Society a few remarks by way of an Anniversary Address.

I am much pleased that I am again able to congratulate the Society on its satisfactory condition both with regard to numbers and finances. As you have heard from the Report of the Council, we have, notwithstanding losses by death and resignation of Fellowship, an increase of nine in the number of our Ordinary Fellows. Our Balance-Sheet, notwithstanding the multitude of Plates with which the *Numismatic Chronicle* has been illustrated, is still of a satisfactory character, and we are much indebted to our Treasurer for all the care that he has taken of our finances.

We have, I am sorry to say, been deprived of the services of one of our Secretaries. Mr. Rapson, who for a period of eight years has held office, has received the appointment of Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, and is in consequence leaving London. We cannot do otherwise

than congratulate Professor Rapson on his entering a new sphere of action, and it is some alleviation in the loss that we sustain by his promotion to know that he will still assist the Society in all matters relating to the numismatics of our Eastern dependencies.

The Medal of the Society has, as you have heard, been awarded by the Council to the distinguished Italian numismatist, Commendatore Francesco Gnechi, and others besides those more closely interested in Roman coins will, I am confident, approve of this award.

Our meetings have been well attended, and the objects exhibited at them numerous and interesting. I may, however, take this opportunity of again impressing upon our Fellows the desirability of laying before the Society any rare or important acquisitions that they may make, and also any coins or medals that seem to present novel features either in type or legend, with the view of eliciting information with regard to their peculiarities. If a short written note accompanied such exhibitions, it would add materially to their value and interest.

Our losses by death, though heavy, have not been so numerous as in most former years. They are five only, and I must now say a few words with regard to those whose presence at our meetings we shall probably miss the most.

Mr. Richard Armstrong Hoblyn, F.S.A., was the eldest son of the late Rev. Richard Dennis Hoblyn, M.A., and grandson of the late Rev. Richard Hoblyn, Rector of All Saints, Colchester. He was born in 1846, and for many years was actively employed in the Exchequer and Audit Department.

He was elected into the Numismatic Society in February, 1873, now more than thirty-three years ago, and for a long period was an energetic member, constantly attending our meetings, and from time to time serving on our Council.



Besides being a frequent exhibitor of interesting coins and medals, he communicated several valuable papers to our *Journal*.

In the XVIIth Volume of the New Series (1877) no less than four Papers appear under his name. The first of these relates to a series of rare milled English coins, which he had on various occasions exhibited at our meetings. The second gives an account of some milled silver coins of Charles II and William III with the elephant and the elephant and castle. The third is on milled silver coins with the plumes; and the fourth on English tin coins. A short supplement to the last appeared in Vol. XVIII.

In Vol. XIX. (1879) are two memoirs, one of great importance on Milled Scottish Coins 1637-1709, and the other on the Edinburgh Coinage of Queen Anne.

In later years, partly, I regret to say, owing to the failure of his health, his communications became less frequent, but in 1894 he gave us an account of an unpublished copper halfpenny of Elizabeth, and in 1899 a note on a pattern farthing or jetton of Mary II. Among his many friends those who knew his handwriting will feel how well his extreme accuracy was typified by his marvellous calligraphy, and all will deeply regret his loss. His death took place on April 28, 1906, at the age of sixty years.

Mr. Thomas William Kitt joined our Society in 1884, and was the author of a useful little book entitled *Papers for Beginners*, which was published in 1902, to which, though personally a stranger, I contributed a Preface, so much was I impressed with the author's honest attempt to produce a handy treatise on the first principles of the science of Numismatics. He was born in the City of London, where his father was engaged in business, and took great interest in charitable work. He was Dr. Barnardo's first secretary, and helped him much with his ragged schools, and was also an active member of more

than one Religious Society. Owing, however, to failure in health, he went to New Zealand in 1872, and remained there for a period of about twenty years. While away from England he was an active Freemason, and attained the degree of Grand Standard-bearer. On his return to his native country he settled at Guildford, and devoted himself to numismatic and literary work.

He died suddenly at Guildford on March 25, 1906, having just entered his sixty-second year.

In Mr. C. E. G. Mackerell, who died on September 29, 1905, we have lost another of the constant attendants at our meetings. He became a member of the Society in 1887, but though a diligent coin-collector, he never communicated any Paper to the *Numismatic Chronicle*. His discriminating numismatic taste is, however, well evinced by the fine series of Roman "large-brass" coins that he brought together, as well as by his collection of English Coins, Patterns, and Proofs. Both these collections were dispersed by auction during the course of last month.

By his will dated January 13, 1905, he bequeathed to the Royal Numismatic Society the sum of fifty pounds. Owing, however, to some legal difficulty, this legacy has not as yet been received by our Treasurer. He also bequeathed to the Trustees of the British Museum three crown pieces of great rarity and in magnificent preservation. They are of Oliver Cromwell and Charles II, the latter consisting of the "Reddite" crown by Thomas Simon, and a pattern by Roettier of the year 1662.

I must now turn to the more important communications that we have received during the past twelve months.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, who wrote on the initial coinage of Parthia so long ago as 1890, has obliged us with a second Paper on the same subject, which raises questions extremely difficult to answer. I shall, I hope, be excused if I do not enter deeply into the matter. There can, however, be no

doubt that the acuteness and manual skill of the great forger Chanda Mall of Rawul Pindi must be thoroughly discounted in considering the questions raised. It is the authenticity of the gold staters and silver tetradrachms of Andragoras that is doubted by Sir Henry Howorth, and that has called forth the interesting chapter of early Parthian history to which I am now referring. But he would go further, and attribute to the Armenian Arsacidae a certain number of coins which hitherto have usually been regarded as belonging to Parthia.

This attribution has called forth a reply from Mr. Warwick Wroth, who is of opinion that we may still safely continue to stand *super vias antiquas*.

The same question of the authenticity of the double-darics and certain silver coins presumably of Indian *provenance*, may perhaps to some extent interfere with the general acceptance of the views of Dr. Head, as set forth in an extremely interesting Paper that he has lately communicated to the Society on "Early Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins." Although allowing the possibly spurious character of some of the coins cited in evidence, it would, I venture to think, be unwarrantable to condemn the whole; but even if, in some instances, we may hesitate in accepting his views as to the precise signification of some of the legends, we must, I think, acknowledge that he has brought forward some valid grounds for transferring certain coins which have hitherto been regarded as having been struck in the extreme west of the empire of Alexander the Great, or possibly in Asia Minor, to the extreme east of his dominions.

But I have not as yet done with the labours of Sir Henry Howorth. At the beginning of the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1904 will be found a Paper by him "On Some Coins attributed to Babylon by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer," in which, by the way, Chanda Mall also intervenes. This Paper has naturally led to a rejoinder by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, who

energetically contends in favour of his own views, and points out the *à priori* probability of issues of such a mint under satrapal authority in the days of Alexander the Great, and, moreover, shows that the *provenance* of the coins in question is usually in Mesopotamia and Persia. I know not with whom it rests *tantas componere lites*.

Mr. Wroth, who for a period of seventeen years has been good enough to supply us with a series of annual Papers on the "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum," has kindly continued his work, but has modified the title to "Select Greek Coins in the British Museum," though the principal coins of which he has treated in his last Paper are acquisitions made during the year 1904. Among those described are some coins which it seems may be safely transferred from Lesbos to Scione in Macedonian Chalcidice. The reverse type of some of these coins is a human eye in the centre of an incuse square. A little series of diobols struck at Aenus is worthy of notice, on account of both the rarity of the coins of this denomination and the variety of the symbols of magistrates that they present. A series of bronze coins of Elis belongs to a class only discovered within the last few years. A new silver coin of Atarneus in Mysia presents the reverse type of a serpent coiled, but the attribution (proposed by Dr. Head) to Drakon of Pellene, a general who ravaged the Mysian plains about 360 B.C., though tempting, cannot, in Mr. Wroth's opinion, be unhesitatingly accepted.

Among the coins of Imperial times, two *sestertii* of the reign of Nero are of considerable interest. They were both struck in Thessaly, possibly at Larissa, and the head of Eirene or Pax on the obverse of one of them calls to mind the Roman issues commemorating the universal peace in the Roman Empire and the closing of the Temple of Janus, under Nero, about the year 65 A.D.

Another Paper connected with Greek numismatics consists of "Notes on Coin-collecting in Mysia," by our Fellow Mr. F. W.

Hasluck. There is no evidence more satisfactory in determining the claims of two or more cities with the same name to coins of certain types than that afforded by local discoveries. In the case of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum and Apollonia Salbace, the notes of Mr. Hasluck will in many instances prove conclusive. Among the coins bearing the name of Apollonia two are described as unpublished, as is also one of Miletopolis, the geographical position of which town seems more probably to have been at Melde than at Mihallitch. The find-spots of coins struck by several other towns are also recorded.

The Papers relating to Roman numismatics have been numerous and interesting, especially as they for the most part relate to coins struck in Britain, or form part of British collections.

Mr. Grueber, in a Paper on "The Coins of Luceria in Apulia," has raised an interesting question, viz. whether any Italian cities issued two contemporary coinages based on the same standard, the one for circulation on the spot, and the other for military purposes. Such a double issue seems by no means probable, so that a doubt arises whether certain coins bearing the letter L upon them, and at present attributed to Luceria, may not after all have been struck for some other city with the initial L, such as Lanuvium in Latium.

Mr. George Macdonald has kindly supplied us with a valuable account of the series of Roman medallions in the magnificent Hunter Collection belonging to the University of Glasgow. They are no less than ninety-six in number, ranging in date from the days of Hadrian to those of Valens, or over a period of about 250 years. Among them are sixteen which are not comprised in Cohen's lists. Of all these figures will be given in a forthcoming Part of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. One satisfactory feature in Mr. Macdonald's Catalogue is the minute manner in which the details of the reverse are described. Another and a novel feature is that the relative positions of the obverse and reverse types are notified. In the

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majority of cases, if the medallion be held as it were on pivots at the top and bottom of the obverse and the piece is turned, it will be found that the type of the reverse corresponds in position with that of the obverse. In other cases, the bottom of the obverse corresponds with the top of the reverse. These are, however, of much rarer occurrence.

But whatever may be the relations of obverse and reverse, it is evident that much care was bestowed on the relative position of the two dies.

Some forty years ago I called attention to this fact, and in describing a large medallion of Septimius Severus, I wrote :<sup>1</sup> "The medallion, as is so commonly the case with these large pieces, is carefully struck so that the position of the devices on the obverse and reverse agrees in such a manner that the head of Victory is exactly opposite to or underneath the upper part of the head of the Emperor." In the case of this medallion there are two small pivot-holes in the edge of the coin above the centre of gravity, so that if the piece were used as the decoration in the middle of a standard, both the Emperor and the Victory would appear in a vertical position.

As to the medallions described and figured by Mr. Macdonald, perhaps the most important are that with the head of Macrinus on one face and that of Diadumenianus on the other, one of the latter Caesar, and one that has already been published of Magnia Urbica.

Mr. Jethro Cossins has called attention to two brass coins of Carausius, the one remarkable for its very abnormal weight, and the other as presenting a reverse hitherto unknown.

Mr. Percy Webb has given us an account of a small hoard of Roman coins, including some of Carausius and Allectus, recently found near Watchfield, Berks. He has also furnished

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<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. VII. (1867), p. 5.

us with a very important paper on "The Coinage of Allectus." After a summary of the personal history of this usurper, he discusses the weight of his gold and bronze coins, and suggests that the letter Q, so constantly present on the small coins of the galley type, may possibly be an indication that such coins were *Quinarii*, and current at half the value of the larger pieces, or *Denarii*.

With regard to the mints, there can be no doubt that London was one of them, but as to the rival claims of Clausentum and Camulodunum to those bearing the letter C, even when followed by an L, the author's feeling seems to be in favour of Colchester over Bitterne, and in this feeling I agree.

Suggestions are made both as to the meaning of the exergual mint-marks and of the letters so frequently occurring in the field. Some consideration is then given to peculiarities in types on the coins of Allectus, and the differences in art between the two mints. But the most important part of the Paper consists in a catalogue of the different types of coins with which the author has become acquainted. Besides minor varieties, such as those with the galley type on which the number of rowers varies from two to seven, no less than 220 types are described, some of course merely presenting different letters in the field, though the main device remains the same. Of these 18 are in gold, 1 in base silver, 94 in brass struck at London, 92 struck at Camulodunum, and 15 from uncertain mints. Altogether it is the most perfect list of the coins of Allectus that has ever been compiled.

Lady Evans has favoured us with an interesting and instructive Paper on "The Hair-dressing of Roman Ladies as illustrated on Coins." Beginning with the coiffures of goddesses, as shown on the family *denarii* of Rome, she has traced the varieties of fashion down to the days of Pulcheria wife of Marcianus, in the middle of the fifth century of our era. The coins cited in illustration of the subject, eighty-one in number,

are exhibited on a series of four Plates, so that the evolutions, reversions, and vagaries of fashion are brought into juxtaposition, and the whole history of the various forms adopted may be studied almost at a glance.

The accompanying Paper gives a selection of most of the passages in Latin authors which bear upon the subject ; and though this has been discussed by others in modern times, principally French and German writers, this Paper is, I believe, the only essay in which the illustrations with but one exception are of a purely numismatic character. The subject was one well adapted for one of our Woman-Fellows to study, and as I might be considered a prejudiced critic in the matter, I refer the results of the author's investigations to the judgment of the Society.

Mr. J. G. Milne has given us an interesting article on some Roman coin-moulds found by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in recent excavations at Behnesa, in Egypt. They are 105 in number, and represent coins of Maximinus Daza, Licinius, and Constantine the Great. The original coins from which the moulds were taken were for the most part struck at the mint of Alexandria, but the mints of Antioch, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus are also represented. They may be divided into two groups, differing in the character of the clay employed.

Twenty-one have impressions of coins on one face only, the remaining eighty-four on both. When used, they may have been arranged in the manner described, in 1839, in the first volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Other coin-moulds found in Egypt are made for a large number of coins, but consist of only a single piece of clay. In this case the coins seem to have been reproduced in wax, and the moulds then prepared in the *cire-perdue* manner.

Whether the cast coins were officially produced or the work of private forgers, is a question still unsettled. Of the Roman coins found at Oxyrhynchus, one in five was cast.



The proportion was nearly the same in a hoard found at Pitstone, near Tring, in 1870.<sup>2</sup>

Miss McDowall, in a Paper on "Contorniates and *Tabulae Lusoriae*," has cited most of the passages in ancient authors, relating to the different forms of *tabulae*, and has given notes on a number of contorniates, for the most part in the British Museum, which are either unpublished or have been imperfectly described. On these she has recognized a subject from the *Phocnissae* of Euripides, Jason taming the brazen bulls, Philoctetes with the wounded foot, Hercules spinning, and other classical representations. That her view of contorniates being *calculi* for games (as, indeed, already suggested by other writers) is correct, may now be regarded as almost proved. The *tabula* incised on the pavement of the Forum at Rome, on which two palm-branches and two of the  $\text{E}$  symbols, so common on contorniates, appear in four of the compartments, seems conclusive in the matter.

As an example of the manner in which these *tabulae* could be used, Lady Evans and I devised a kind of race-game in which a die was the principal factor, and submitted the rules of the game, clothed in classical Latin, to the meeting, before which a short game was played in illustration of the subject.

Of the Anglo-Saxon coinage we have heard but little. Lord Grantley, however, has given us a note on a penny of Baldred, King of Kent, which in some respects differs from the coins of that king already published.

In English numismatics, Mr. Grueber has communicated to us an account of a hoard of about 180 coins of Stephen and Henry II, found at Awbridge, near Romney. The coins, unfortunately, are in but poor preservation, but those of Stephen give the names of some moneyers new to the national collection. A coin apparently from the Huntingdon

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<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. X. p. 132.

mint is of considerable rarity. The coins of Henry II are of more ordinary character, but Mr. Grueber has been able to deduce from the hoard some conclusions of interest and importance.

Mr. Walters has continued his commentary on the mediaeval coins of England, by an essay on those of Henry V, which gives a large amount of information as to the character and extent of both his gold and silver coinages. The whole article is a mine of information, which I will not attempt to condense. I may, however, express a hope that the researches of Mr. Walters may be extended to the coinages of some of our later kings.

A Paper from the pen of the late Mr. Cochran Patrick, on some original documents relating to touch-pieces, contains matter of much interest. We find, for instance, James I directing the Wardens of his Mint to strike some new angels for his use at the ceremony of touching for the "king's evil," and ordering his Treasurer to pay for the same. I presume that this power of healing came to him as a pleasant surprise when he was crowned King of England, and was latent so long as he was merely James VI of Scotland.

An unpublished gold half-unicorn of his ancestor James IV, now in Lord Bute's collection, forms the subject of an interesting article by Mr. Grueber; and Miss H. Farquhar has called our attention to a remarkable half-crown of Charles I.

A commemorative medal of the time of Elizabeth also belongs to the British series.

I have myself ventured to lay before the Society some remarks on the silver medal or map of Sir Francis Drake, the best extant example of which—I speak on the authority of Mr. Miller Christy—has recently been added to my collection.

Although the piece has been already described in several antiquarian and medallic works, as well as in a separate

volume by Mr. Christy, no description of it had appeared in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and I hope that the account that I have given of the medal, involving as it did some biographical particulars of one of the most renowned and adventurous navigators that this country ever produced, has been of some interest to our Fellows. In these days of ships of from 15,000 to 18,000 tons burden, it seems almost incredible that the first Englishman who circumnavigated the globe should have performed the feat in a vessel of 100 tons, and should, in addition, have been able to carry off an immense amount of spoil from the Spaniards. It would be interesting if the sixpence of Elizabeth that he nailed to the post in taking possession of New Albion should ever be discovered.

The only Paper on Oriental numismatics that we have received is one on "The Assumption of the title Shahanshah by Buwahid Rulers." It is by our Fellow Mr. H. F. Amedroz, and is of special interest to the students of the coinage of our Indian Empire.

I must now say a few words with regard to one or two of the principal numismatic works that have been published in this country since I last addressed you.

It is long since a more important or interesting numismatic book has appeared in the English language than that by our Fellow Mr. George Macdonald on *Coin Types, their Origin and Development*.<sup>3</sup> It is based on the six Rhind Lectures delivered at Edinburgh by the author in 1904. I cannot pretend here to give any summary of the work, but I may state in broad terms the general drift of Mr. Macdonald's arguments.

Beginning with the origin of the art of coining, he shows how, in its early stages, the type or device adopted in most cases is what may be regarded as the "canting arms" of the

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<sup>3</sup> Glasgow: Maclehose. 8vo. 1905.

issuing state or city, accompanied at times by symbols indicative of the names of some magistrates or officials of the mint concerned. The possible religious element is not, as a rule, conspicuous. The application of the type to pieces of metal of a guaranteed weight and fineness, was in fact a mere continuation of the far more ancient practice of sealing.

About the fourth century B.C. the religious element becomes far more apparent in the types, which, owing to the multiplication of the denominations of the coins, had to be more varied in character.

After dealing with the more ancient Greek coinages, the author turns to that of the Romans, itself a direct descendant from the Greek, and traces the development of types from Consular down to Imperial times. His observations as to the varied use of the nominative, the dative, and the accusative cases in certain legends, are well worthy of study.

In his concluding lecture the origin and development of some of the Byzantine and Mediaeval types are discussed. The book is illustrated by ten excellent autotype Plates, as well as by several illustrations in the text. The whole work is one that will add still farther to the high numismatic reputation which Mr. Macdonald worthily enjoys.

We may heartily congratulate our Fellow Mr. Hocking on the appearance of the first volume of his excellent Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint, which far exceeds in bulk and importance the Catalogue printed in 1874.

We all knew that there was an interesting collection of coins at the Mint, from which so large a proportion of the English currency both of ancient and modern times was issued, but the extent and value of the collection will come as a surprise to many of us. It is an excellent feature in the Museum that in cases in which it is practically impossible to secure original examples of extremely rare coins, their places have been filled by electrotypes, descriptions of which, marked

by an asterisk, are included in the Catalogue. As a result, the book gives a fairly complete conspectus of the whole English, Scottish, Irish, and Hanoverian series, as well as of Colonial, Romano-British, and Oriental coins, and those who study it in connection with the coins exhibited will soon learn to take an interest in numismatic studies.

Such rarities as the double-sovereign of Edward VI, the Oxford crown of Charles I by Rawlins, and the "Petition" and "Reddite" crowns of Charles II by Thomas Simon, are sure to attract special attention.

Mr. Ellison Macartney, the Deputy-Master of the Mint, in his Preface, points out that the Virginian halfpenny of 1773 was an authorized issue, and that there was a proposal from North Carolina for a coinage in 1754.

Those who possess the St. Patrick's halfpenny with the legends FLOREAT REX and ECCE GREX, and the smaller pieces with QVIESCAT PLEBS, may be interested to learn that an emigrant from Ireland, by name Mark Newby, arrived in New Jersey in 1681 with a quantity of these coins, and in 1682 obtained a local Act of Parliament authorizing their currency in the Colony. Evelyn engraves the QVIESCAT PLEBS coin, which, he says, "seems to have relation to Ireland." Some of my hearers may be already acquainted with the "Mark Newby" history, but I confess that it is new to me.

The second volume of the Catalogue, containing particulars of the Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Mint Museum, will no doubt also prove of great interest.

The new volume of the Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, comprising the coins of Phrygia, has just appeared, or is about to appear, but I must defer any notice of its contents to another occasion. It is from the pen of our Foreign Secretary, Dr. Barclay V. Head, and will no doubt be found worthy of his great reputation. The close of this month will be marked by his retirement from

the post of Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, after a service of over forty-two years in that important Department. He will carry with him into his retirement our best wishes for a long life of well-earned repose, and our thanks for all that he has done for numismatic science, and to promote the interests of our Society.

It is an open secret that on his retirement an interesting and important volume of essays will be offered to Dr. Head as a kind of *Fest-schrift*, by his brother numismatists of all countries.

All will rejoice that Mr. Grueber, who has so long been one of our active and efficient Honorary Secretaries, and whose fortieth year of service in the Department of Coins and Medals is now approaching its conclusion, has been appointed Keeper of that Department, in succession to Dr. Head. May he long enjoy that important position!

I must now conclude what I fear that you will regard as a somewhat lengthy Address, thanking you for the attention with which you have kindly listened, and expressing my hope that our Society may long live and prosper, and that students in each successive year may recognize that it has done something to enlarge our knowledge of coins and medals, and especially those of Great Britain and its dependencies.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address, moved by Sir Henry Howorth, and seconded by Mr. Percy Webb, was carried unanimously.

The ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year was declared, the following being elected :—

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LIST OF FELLOWS  
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ROYAL  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,  
1906.



PATRON  
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

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LIST OF FELLOWS  
OF THE  
ROYAL  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,  
1906.

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*The sign \* indicates that the Fellow has compounded for his annual contribution : † that the Fellow has died during the year.*

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- 1899 GABRICI, PROF. DR. ETTORE, Salita Stella, 21, Naples.
- 1893 GNECCHI, COMM. FRANCESCO, 10, Via Filodrammatici, Milan.
- 1886 HERBST, HERR C. F., late Director of the Museum of Northern  
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- 1904 KUBITSCHKE, PROF. J. W., Pichlergasse, 1, Vienna.
- 1893 LOEBBECKE, HERR A., Cellerstrasse, 1, Brunswick.
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